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UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FATHER'S PERCEPTIONS OF THE ROLE OF FATHER

KATHERINE J. KILGOUR

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Masters of Science.

DEPARTMENT OF FAMILY STUDIES

Edmonton, Alberta
Spring 1992

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled, 'FATHER'S PERCEPTIONS OF THE ROLE OF FATHER' submitted by KATHERINE J. KILGOUR in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of MASTERS OF SCIENCE.

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this research was to develop an understanding of a group of father's perceptions of the role of father in current Canadian society. A grounded theory method was used to identify the process involved in these fathers' experiences of being a father. Data were collected using audiotaped unstructured interviews with nine fathers. A total of 23 interviews were conducted over a one year period. Interviews were transcribed, coded and the coded excerpts were categorized using the constant comparative technique developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967). 'Moulding' was the basic social psychological process which emerged from the data analysis. Five components of the process of moulding were identified, 'Making a Relationship', 'Making Them Safe', 'Making Them Smarter', 'Making Them Behave', and 'Making Them Fit For The World'. The purpose of moulding was to, 'Make Them Into Someone The Father Can Be Proud Of'. The moulding process was set in the context of the past. These fathers reflected on their own childhood experiences and evaluated their parents' techniques. They used the reflecting and evaluating to determine appropriate behaviour towards their children and the evaluated the results of their decisions with their own children. Fathers used themselves as a reference points in, "Making the child into someone the father can be proud of" just as they did in all other aspects of the moulding process. The context of "Parenting from the Past" surrounds both the process and the outcomes. The influences of the fathers' childhoods are evident in their dreams for their childrens' futures just as the fathers' childhoods influence the five components of the moulding process. All of the fathers were unique individuals with different life experiences and different family structures yet each father was involved in the same process.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Prior to the early 1970's interest in fathers' roles with their children was minimal. Fathers' in western industrialized society had typically been the primary providers of economic support for the family. Fathers acted as the interfacing agents between the family and the larger society. The primary child-parent relationship was assumed to exist between mothers and their children. Mothers' roles in western industrialized society had traditionally been the care and nurture of family life within the home. Almost all research regarding parents and children at that time was addressed to mothers and even research about fathers and children was conducted by asking mothers about their husbands.

When researchers did begin to develop an interest in the role of fathers in their childrens' lives, it was unusual circumstances which drew their attention. One of the areas of interest was on the effects of father absence. This most likely related researchers interests in the effects of rising divorce rates and the family structure of large numbers of urban blacks in the United States. In both these instances it was common for children to be raised by mothers as women increasingly became the heads of the households. A second focus along the line of the unusual the investigation of pathogenic relationships between fathers and their children. This included research in the areas of such situations as father-child incest, father-child physical abuse and alcoholic or other drug addicted fathers.

The third major focus of research on fathers appears to be influenced by the rising voice of the womens' movement and the accompanying ideological shift in role expectations for men and women. Researchers began the search for evidence that men and women are sharing both the 'expressive' and 'instrumental' roles within the family. The main emphasis of this research is on investigating both the ability of fathers to nurture children and the extent to which fathers actually share childcare with their wives. In addition the antecedents of fathers' participation in childcare are currently under investigation.

The issue of nature versus nurture in establishing role behaviour has long been debated in North American society. In the past the practice of men nurturing children was considered not only to be 'unmasculine' but also 'unnatural'. The change in

cultural ideology to more equalitarian values has led to changing role expectations for men and women. The sacred nature of the mother-child bond has been challenged by those who believe parenting is potentially gender neutral. Could fathers bond with their children in the same way as mothers bond? Studies which investigate fathers ability to nurture find that men are as able as women to provide love, care, and intimacy with children when men desire to fulfill this role or when they are forced into the role through the death of a spouse. These studies use two main groups of fathers as respondents, fathers with infants and toddlers and single parent fathers.

Current research in the area of fathers' participation in intact family life compares the behaviour of mothers and fathers. Based on this type of a comparison the ratio of womens' work in the family to mens' work was consistantly 2:1 regardless of the types of measures employed by researchers. Men continue to be held responsible of the economic provision for the family. It appears that in intact family life, fathers and mothers are continuing to live out more gender stereotyped patterns than the equalitarian ideal. Despite what appeared to be low levels of involvement between fathers and children, study results also indicated that fathers' believed that they played an important role in their childrens' lives and fathers asserted that their family life was of primary importance.

Current researchers in the area of predictors of fathers participation in intact families have indentified several variables such as family of origin, wife's sex role attitudes, wife's employment status, willingness of the mother to relinquish childcare tasks, and readiness to parent as significant factors in fathers participation with their children. Generally these findings are contradictory when studies are compared and the exact relationship between the variables cannot be explained using the quantitative data only. Also, the question of the couples understanding of the actual involvement of the father and the meaning of that involvement for the couple has been raised by qualitative researchers. It appears that couples negotiate and understanding of involvement which may be quite different from quantitative findings.

Since unusual situations have drawn the attention of researchers, little is known about the relationships between fathers relationships with their children in intact families. Increasingly researchers are interviewing fathers as well as mothers, however, actual data from fathers are still limited. We recognize that often there is a discordance between what people say and what people do and in the case of fathers, it is curious that fathers' in intact families say their children and their family lives are

important and yet studies indicate that fathers are only minimally involved in their childrens' lives. Is it that fathers only pay lip service to involvement with their children or have researchers missed measuring the contributions made by fathers to their children's lives?

Researchers are agreed that the interactions in family life are complex. Qualitative research which was designed to accommodate the complexity of interaction had been recommended to further the understanding of the meaning underlying the interaction between fathers and their children. Research of the role of the father with school aged children from the fathers' perspective was considered to be necessary since many studies focus on pre-birth experience and fathers with infants and toddlers. The consideration of the incongruencies between the emic, that is the perspective of the father and the etic, that is the perspective of the researchers, deserved an attempt at a search for a possible explanation.

The purpose of this study was to look at the process of parenting in an intact family from the fathers' perspective. Specifically it was the objective of the researcher to conduct qualitative interviews with a variety of fathers, first, to generate an emic description of fathering second, to generate a theoretical analysis of the factors influencing the process based on the qualitative interview data.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

A recent article by Greif and Bailey (1990) reviewed five social work journals published between 1961 and 1987 and found the literature on fathers could best be described as sparse. Prior to 1970 research in the area of fathers in intact families was virtually nonexistent with the exception of two studies, Gardner (1943) and Tasch (1952). A review of the Psych-Lit abstracts at the University of Alberta confirms Greif and Bailey's findings that the emphasis of most research is on the pathogenic effects of fathers on their children. Fathers as perpetrators (ie. abusive, incestuous), fathers as missing (ie. never married, non-supportive, divorced non-custodial), fathers as deviant (ie. homosexual) have been the focus of research. There has also been interest in fathers as single parents either through widowhood or divorce but very little interest in fathers in intact families.

The articles included in this literature review include both qualitative and quantitative studies where the respondents are fathers from intact families. Research into pathogenic effects and relationships has been excluded as well as alternate family forms such as single fathers. The literature review will begin with setting the cultural context in which parenting takes place in North American society including review statements of father and mother roles as well as the attitudes of the scientific community. Two aspects of investigating fathering in intact families dominate the literature. They include the division of labour studies and the studies which seek to establish the factors which determine paternal participation. Each will be discussed in terms of the basic findings and problems. The summary of the findings and the problems in the literature will develop the argument that research findings are biased, and further, researchers have yet to understand or measure fathers contributions The chapter ends with a statement of the need for a qualitative research approach to the study of fathers' perceptions of their involvement with their children.

Before 1970 psychologists stressed the importance of the mother-infant relationship (Boyd, 1985) and parenting literature either tacitly implied or explicitly stated that the father's influence in the social or emotional growth of young children was minimal (Day & McKey, 1986). The father's role was that of primary breadwinner and male involvement in caretaking and nurturing of children was

considered unmasculine (Boyd, 1985). The belief in gender based division of labour has a long history in our culture (Rotundo, 1985) which has undoubtedly affected research interests and designs as well as the societal and personal expectations for men in the fathering role.

During the 1970's and into the 1980's there appears to have occurred a shift in the cultural ideology of parenting. This shift includes an adoption of the belief in androgynous parental roles -specifically the fathering role being that of a nurturant caregiver sharing equally with mothers in caring for children (Fein,1976; La Rossa, 1988). This change includes the assumption of equalitarian roles for men and women, fewer prescribed duties associated with parenting, and greater freedom for individual interpretation of the fathering role (Rotundo, 1985). The most striking aspect of the historical evolution of fatherhood is the current ambiguity which surrounds the role. Empirical findings suggest that in North America there has been an ideological shift within the "culture of fatherhood" that is the shared cultural norms and values but not in the "conduct of fatherhood" that is what fathers actually do (La Rossa, 1988). The following is a review of the division of labour literature which reveals both the incongruence between ideology and practice and the absence of data regarding fathers' conduct and the meaning of that conduct.

The division of labour literature consists primarily of quantitative studies which employ checklists of activities and various methods of analyzing time spent by spouses on household and child care tasks (Barnett & Baruch, 1986; 1987; Benin & Agnostinelli, 1988; Coverman & Sheley, 1986). The outcomes indicate "Who does what" and "Who does how much". Regardless of how participation is measured, time estimates (Benin & Agnostinelli, 1988), proportional participation (Barnett & Baruch, 1987), time diaries (Barnett & Baruch, 1986), or differences in the number of tasks measured, the ratio of women's work to men's work in the home is 2:1 (Barnett & Baruch, 1987; Coverman & Sheley, 1986; Pleck, 1985; Russell & Radin, 1983).

The responsibility of custodial care and physical maintenance of children has been traditionally associated with mothers and this continues to be true whether or not mothers are employed outside the home (Carleson, 1982; Rapoport & Rapoport, 1982; Russell & Radin, 1983). Even though most women do some paid work and contribute 30% of the family income,the responsibility of economic provision for the family belongs to men (Thompson & Walker, 1989). While dual worker couples may say

they subscribe to equalitarian ideals, few live up to them in practice (Barnett & Baruch, 1988; Benin & Agnostinelli, 1988; Rapoport & Rapoport, 1982). The prevailing tradition persists, that is, the responsibility for domestic work, especially child care is women's work (Rapoport & Rapoport, 1982) and that couples operate under this assumption has been empirically supported in studies by Barnett and Baruch (1988) and Lamb, Pleck and Levine (1986). When asked about division of family work in their own families over half of all the husbands and wives in Hiller and Philliber's study (1986) believed that housework should be shared equally and over 80% believed child care should be shared equally despite the fact that these attitudes were not good predictors of who actually did the work. In terms of physical care of children, fathers are seen as "helpers" (Rapoport & Rapoport, 1982) or "babysitters" (Day & McKey,1986) not equal partners with mothers in childcare.

One of the problems with the division of labour studies is that research instruments have not always clearly separated housework from child care (Horna & Lupri, 1987). Some have used only one question to measure which spouse is most involved in caring for children while others have developed checklists of child care tasks which usually include such items as changing diapers, feeding infants, supervising bedtime, bathing, helping to dress, helping with homework, attending parent-teacher interviews or driving to appointments or events depending on the age of children involved. Transmission of parental values, development of desirable personality traits, teaching of lifeskills such as budgeting or minor household repairs, discipline, moral and spiritual education are some examples of aspects of child care seldom included in research checklists.

The recent study by Horna and Lupri (1987) is one of the few that separates child care from other domestic work based on an explicitly stated understanding that child care is "qualitatively different" from other forms of family work. Recognizing the complexity and diversity of parent-child interaction, Horna and Lupri (1987) include the child's physical maintenance as well as the child's social, moral and psychological development in their questionnaire. They conclude that parenting patterns are varied, complex, and beset with contradictions. Division of labour studies are restricted by the choice of items included on the checklists and the problems of developing a questionnaire which can adequately measure complex and diverse interactions.

Even though there exists inequality of task sharing, men have long perceived fathering as an important role (Gardner, 1943; Horna & Lupri, 1987; Maynard, 1989; Tasch, 1952). McIntire, Bass, and Battistone (1974) found 87.4% of men interviewed disagreed with the statement, "The role of father is not as important as the role of being a mother." (p.106). Despite father's perceptions that their role is an important one and that their children are important to them (Cohen, 1987), North American fathers, with the exception of a small minority, are limited in their child care involvement as measured by current research (Barnett & Baruch, 1988; Carleson, 1982; Coverman & Sheley, 1986; Rapoport & Rapoport, 1982; Russell & Radin, 1983).

The assertion that fathers are generally uninvolved in child care may well be 'true' when researchers compare fathers to mothers or compare fathers to an androgynous parent ideal. However, results of Daniels and Weingarten's (1982) qualitative study indicate that fathers do not judge their parenting in comparison with their wives. Fathers compare themselves with their own fathers. Fathers see themselves as 'globally' responsible because they are involved with the day-to-day providing for their children and fathers resent the implication they are not contributing to their children's welfare (Daniels & Weingarten, 1988; La Rossa & La Rossa, 1981).

As previously mentioned, within the etic perspective rests the implicit assumption of some researchers that for dual earner couples at least, there is some striving to achieve equitable and just relations between men and women (Pleck, 1982; Thompson & Walker, 1989). Backett's (1987) qualitative research on gender inequities in child care in families found the emic perspective of equitable and just relations did not mean equal division of child care. Husbands and wives in Backett's study reported feeling satisfied with what the researcher perceived as an unequal division of child care if the father was supportive of the mother's child rearing, if the father was willing to act as a 'substitute' parent if necessary, or if the mother felt the father would participate more if he could. Findings indicate that couples rationalize their behaviour and decisions with respect to division of labour within the family. Couples may consider the father to be 'involved' when actual observation by the researcher and questioning by the researcher about fathers' child care behaviour indicates he spends little time interacting with his child/children. The couple's perception of father's participation with his child/children is quite different from what might appear on a survey designed to measure 'who does what'. Again, we need to recognize that the etic perception of father involvement may not be congruent with the emic perception.

The definition of involvement is one of the most serious problems in research which attempts to assess fathers' involvement with their children. Involvement in current research is often means fathers doing any and all the tasks traditionally associated with what mothers have done. By measuring involvement in this way, researchers are able to determine how much or how little fathers are like mothers. The research instruments are designed based on the researcher's assumption of equal sharing of what were formally the mother's tasks. Since it was assumed that fathers in intact, functional families had little or no affect on their children there seemed no reason to study fathers in their own right. In the past, studies which did involve fathers' behaviour or attitudes rarely asked fathers for information. It was customary, rather, for questions about fathers to be directed to the mothers (Bozett & Hanson, 1985; Day & McKey, 1986; May, 1982). Researchers continue to work from a mother model of parenting because in the past parenting meant mothering. Based on current findings it is clear that father are generally not involved with their children in the same capacity as mothers, however, one should not necessarily conclude that fathers are not involved with their children. We know a great deal about how mothers' parent and the nurturant caregiving that "mothering" implies. We know very little about how fathers' experience parenting and what the word "fathering" implies either in the traditional past or in the present. By investigating fathers' perceptions of what it means to fathers to be 'involved' with their children we could begin to understand the father's role in parenting.

The second major focus of research in the area of fathers is designed to establish the numerous variables which may explain fathers' levels of participation. The most common variables tested, family of origin, wife's employment status, sex role attitudes, readiness to parent (Cowan, 1988; May, 1982; Pleck, 1985), will be reviewed in the following paragraphs. Research findings regarding participation of fathers in child care indicate that fathers who expressed more equalitarian sex role attitudes engaged in more physical care of their infants (Cordell Park & Sawin, 1980; Cowan, 1988; La Rossa, 1988; May, 1982). Fathers who wished their own fathers had spent more time with them had higher levels of interaction with their children. Interaction was defined by researchers as no. of hrs./wk. the father spends in intermittent and intensive interaction, whether or not the mother is present (Barnett and Baruch, 1986, p. 1215). The higher level of interaction (spending time with children)

did not correlate with participation in child care tasks or feminine home chores (Barnett & Baruch, 1986).

May (1982) found that fathers who felt ready to become parents and who expected to participate in child care were doing so to a greater extent than those fathers who felt unprepared to parent. This finding was supported by Cowan (1988), Fein (1972), and Barnett and Baruch (1988). There is strong empirical evidence to suggest that wives' sex role attitudes directly influence the level of fathers' involvement with their children (Barnett & Baruch, 1988; Cowan, 1988; Daniels and Weingarten, 1982). The more equalitarian the wife's attitude, the higher the father's level of involvement; the more the wife is willing to relinquish some of her child care responsibilities and educate her husband, the greater the father's participation in child care activities (Barnett & Baruch, 1988; Cowan, 1988; Daniels and Weingarten, 1982; McHale & Huston, 1984).

There are conflicting findings relating fathers' involvement in child care to mothers' employment status. Horna and Lupri, (1987) report that in the dual earner families with school aged children, fathers participate often in child care in 50.9% of cases compared to 32.7% when the mother is at home full-time. Thompson and Walker's review of family work literature (1987) finds generally that wives' employment only appears to increase the father's contribution when proportional measurement is used because of the decrease in time spent at home by employed mothers.

Most of the studies measuring antecedents of participation involve husbands and wives who are interviewed prior to the birth of their first child and then interviewed again on one or more occasions several months after the birth or they involve parents of very young children. Researchers find many fathers are participating in child care to a lesser degree than they and their wives had planned prior to the birth of their child (Cowan, 1988; La Rossa, 1988; Lamb, Pleck, & Levine, 1986). When they become parents' fathers often increase their commitment to wage work in order to fulfil adequately their primary role of economic provider for their family while mothers increase their commitment to family life and child care after the birth of children (Thompson & Walker, 1989). Role enactment becomes more traditional by six months after birth of a child' even for fathers who were active participants prenatally and immediately postnatally (Cowan, 1988; La Rossa, 1988).

In this body of literature findings are contradictory and combinations of variables are complex (Barnett & Baruch, 1988; Coverman & Sheley, 1986; Pleck, 1985). Researchers admit they are sometimes at a loss to explain the findings based on the quantitative data because of the complexity of interaction. Again' these studies are measuring fathers' participation compared to mothers' participation in traditionally female tasks. Because the measurement of participation is based on a model of traditional female parenting, we are unable to determine whether or not fathers are participating in their childrens' lives in a different way which is not being measured. Researchers are limited in their ability to explain the findings because they do not understand fathers' perceptions of the meaning behind the participation.

A review of the fathering literature provides only a partial picture of the role of fathers. From the division of labour literature it is evident that most fathers in intact families do not act towards or interact with their children in the same ways as do mothers. This is not to say that fathers are not capable of being nurturant caregivers or that fathers cannot provide day to day care' fathers are as capable as mothers when necessary or when they choose to be (Risman, 1987). This literature can tell us what fathers do not do with or for their children but we have yet to ask the questions which will tell us how fathers perceive their involvement, how they perceive their participation.

Our current scales and checklists measure how much or how little fathers are similar to traditional mothers. The search for evidence of gender role changes and equalitarian behaviour in parenting has obscured the possibility that fathers may make a significant contribution in child care which is quite different from the contributions that mothers make. The literature relating to men's attitudes towards parenting and participation in child care emphasizes the dichotomy between the emic perspective of fathers towards their role and the etic perspective of current empirical findings. Fathers' feel their parenting role is important and they are invested emotionally in their childrens' lives (Cohen, 1987) even though researchers have been unable to measure fathers' investment with present instruments. Rather than assume fathers are not involved, it is imperative that we examine the nature of father involvement from a different perspective' a father's perspective.

The literature focussing on the factors which affect fathers' participation in child care indicate the complexity of family interaction. Qualitative approaches are designed

to accommodate lengthy explanations of not only actions but also the meaning underlying the actions. Therefore' complex interactions such as parenting' may be best studied using a qualitative method (Barnett & Baruch, 1988; LaRossa & Wolf, 1985; Lincoln, 1991). Whatever appears to be happening in parent-child' parent-parent' or parent-parent-child interaction is subject to various interpretations. Without knowing what the action or inaction of a father means to that father' our interpretation may be fraught with misunderstanding. The summary of the findings and the problems in the literature reveals that cultural assumptions which are based on a female model of parenting have excluded the possibility that fathers make a different contribution to parenting which has yet to be identified or measured. Researchers in this area recognize their current inability to accurately interpret their findings without an understanding of the meaning of fathers' participation from the fathers' perspectives. It was the intention of this study to further the research in the area of fathers by asking fathers in intact families about the role of father and about the meaning the role had for them.

CHAPTER 3

METHODS

The purpose of this study was to further our knowledge of fathers' behavior by seeking to understand the role of a father in an intact family from a father's perspective. The literature relating to men's attitudes towards fathering and participation in child rearing emphasizes the dichotomy between the emic perspective of fathers toward their role and the etic perspective of the empirical findings. To expand the present knowledge base, we must come to understand the meaning of fathers' actions from the fathers' point of view. Generally, the most appropriate method used in conducting research is determined by the research question, the purpose of the study and the current understanding of the topic (Field & Morse, 1985). Since the purpose in this study was to understand fathers' perspectives of complex father-child interactions, a qualitative method was chosen. Qualitative methodology is best suited to complex behavior and complex social patterns because qualitative methods allow for the display and consideration of complex interactions (Lincoln, 1991).

The nature of qualitative research will be introduced in this chapter. The grounded theory method, including method of data collection, data analysis, issues of reliability and validity and ethical considerations will be discussed.

Qualitative Research

Qualitative research is a general term covering a number of techniques which may be used to explore the subjective experience of a phenomenon. Qualitative research has as an epistemological basis the assumption that knowledge of the mental world of individuals must be obtained through a process of interpretation. All interpretations must be understood within the social, historical, and cultural setting in which they occur. The goal of qualitative research is to understand the assumptions and meanings beneath the texture of everyday life (Carr & Kemmis, 1983). Our understanding of meaning is based on the premise that people act towards objects, other people, and events based on the meaning these things have for them. The meaning things have for people arises from the ways in which other people act towards a person with regard to the thing (Blumer, 1969). As we negotiate the meaning of things with others in our social interactions, we create the reality in which we live (Holzner, 1968). The human

ability to observe others and to be observers of ourselves enables us to negotiate meaning both with ourselves and with others. In the construction of our reality with others we may come to some form agreement of the meaning of any particular object or event, however, because each person is unique in thought processes and life experience, we understand that no two people ever share exactly the same meaning (Berger & Luckman, 1967; Blumer, 1969).

Meaning evolves from social interaction. Social interaction reflects the understanding that humans are social beings who generally exist in groups. As members of groups we are continuously acting in response to one another or in relation to one another. Blumer (1969) suggests that in group life, individuals must align their actions with others through a dual process which involves indicating to others how to act and interpreting the actions of others. Interpretation involves the individuals ability to communicate with him/herself. The individual first indicates to him/herself the things which have meaning then processes the meaning by selecting, checking, suspending, regrouping, and transforming the meaning in light of the situation in which s/he is placed and the direction of his/her actions (Blumer, 1969, p. 5). Thus human behaviour is not merely reaction in response to an external stimuli but creative action based on perception and negotiated meaning occurring in a social context.

The behaviour of a father is created by that father based upon the meaning of any interaction for that father. Perception, interpretation, assessment, judgement are all part of the negotiation of meaning. How fathers' perceive their experience and understand their role within a family context is a dynamic psychological process which may best be examined using a qualitative approach known as grounded theory. Grounded theory is not a specific method but a style of data analysis of which the purpose is to generate constructs or theory from the data. It is based upon the "necessity for grasping the actor's viewpoints for understanding interaction" (Strauss, 1987, p. 6).

Grounded Theory

This section includes a brief overview of the grounded theory approach developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967). This approach offers a rigorous, systematic means for developing an understanding of father's perspectives of fathering. In grounded theory the researcher is the key investigative instrument. Data are obtained using indepth, unstructured interviews. The interview tapes are transcribed then reviewed by the

researcher who is seeking to organize the data through coding and categorizing data which appear to fit together. As categories develop in data density and expand in number, they are reviewed with the aim of merging like categories into main categories. Constant comparative analysis, where each new piece of data is compared, coded, and categorized in relation to existing data, is a grounded theory technique which serves to integrate categories and organize thinking (Stern, 1985). After a period of analysis the researcher is able to identify a core variable or central theme to which all other categories are compared for fit. The core category "pulls together " all the other categories into the central theme of the phenomena under study (Corbin, 1985).

In analyzing the data, the researcher constantly seeks the basic social psychological process (BSPP) involved. The basic social psychological process sums up the patterns of behavior, the substance of what is going on in the data (Glaser, 1978). Researchers judge the appropriateness of the BSPP based on several criteria. First, does the BSPP account for a large part of the variation in behaviors and second, are the parts of the process logically linked (Fagerhaugh, 1985). Glaser (1978) includes other BSPP criteria such as frequent reccurence, clear implications for formal theory, and carry-through, that is, the core category does not lead to dead ends. As the data are analyzed in relation to the BSPP, the structure of the theory evolves "grounded" in the data.

Data Collection

Sample

Evaluation of qualitative research samples was based appropriateness and adequacy rather than probability and size (Morse, 1986). Appropriateness referred to the degree to which the sample obtained fit the research question. Adequacy referred to the completeness and amount of information rather than the number of cases (Morse, 1986). The researcher could not predetermine the number of cases to be studied since she had to continue to theoretically sample until categories were saturated. Theoretical sampling technique was used. This technique is directly related to the inductive, theory building nature of a "grounded" study. In conventional, traditional, deductive approaches, hypotheses are logically deduced from pre-existing theory prior to the investigation. When the grounded theory approach is used, the researcher gradually builds theory inductively from the progressive stages of analysis of the data (Glaser, 1978). The first interviews allowed the researcher to become familiar with what was occurring in the field. From the categories which emerged in the analysis of the first

interviews, the researcher formulated hypotheses which guided the search for the next respondent. In each interview the researcher looked both for new ideas and for connections to the existing data. Hypotheses which guided the ongoing search were not proven but were checked with the data for fit. If the fit was poor, the hypothesis was discarded and others emerged from the constant comparative analysis (Glaser, 1978). Theoretical saturation occurred in coding and analyzing when no new properties emerged and when the same properties continually emerged as one went through the full extent of the data (Glaser, 1978, p. 53).

The total number of interviews could not be predetermined. The number of interviews was dependent upon the receptivity of the informant, the amount of information he was willing to share, and the contributions the informant was able to make to the emerging theory. In some instances at the first interview the informant told long stories which were rich in detail and varied in subject matter and in other instances the first interviews were shorter and less detailed and the interviewer needed to return for more information.

This study used informants who were knowledgeable, articulate, insightful, self-disclosing, and interested in participating. All of the fathers in the study were the biological fathers of their children. The researcher received names from informal sources and was not acquainted with any of the informants prior to the study. Initial contact with fathers was made by a third party. Fathers who expressed an interest in participating were then telephoned by the researcher to arrange a mutually convenient interview time.

There were a total of 9 key informants in this study. Six of the fathers were from intact nuclear families, one was a divorced father with joint physical custody, and two were fathers who had remarried. Of the two remarried fathers, one father had a second family with his current wife; this family was the focus of this study. The other remarried father had shared custody of his children off and on since the time of divorce. The fathers ranged in age from 31 to 46 years with the majority of fathers being in their thirties. Three of the fathers had only children, one a girl and two boys. Three fathers had two children, a boy and a girl each. One father had three children, one girl and two boys. One father had two girls and one father had four boys. The fathers held a variety of occupations such as farmer, oilfield worker, union shop manager, two fathers were professionals in private businesses, two fathers were office workers for a

large companies, one father was on short term disability from a sales position and one father was a police officer. The marital role structure included six traditional complementary role relationships as well as two more symmetrical role relationships. The children of the fathers in the study ranged in age from 2 years to 21 years, all fathers had children of school age.

Interviews

In order to achieve the sampling goals of grounded theory methodology, a total of 23 interviews were conducted with 9 fathers. Seven of the nine first interviews were face-to-face. These interviews were held in the informant's home with two exceptions, one interview was conducted in the researcher's office and one in the informant's office. The remaining two first interviews were telephone interviews arranged as such because of distance. Second interviews were conducted with eight fathers, four of these were telephone and four were face-to-face. The third set of interviews involved six fathers and all of these were telephone interviews. Most of the interviews were an hour in length, however, several of the first interviews lasted for close to two hours. The second set of interviews were shorter, lasting approximately forty-five minutes and the third interviews took between fifteen and thirty minutes. All interviews were audiotape recorded and subsequently transcribed. All transcripts were checked for accuracy by the researcher.

The quality of interviews is one of the keys to the success of the research project. Good interviews are rich with details, stories, and examples which reveal the respondent's perspective. The face-to-face meetings allowed the researcher and father to quickly develop rapport and the familiar setting for the respondent fostered a relaxed atmosphere. The opportunity to see the father offered the researcher access to non-verbal communication such as level of comprehension and emotion. During the telephone interviews the researcher had to be alert to subtle cues such as pauses, sighing, and change in voice intonation since the opportunity to gather nonverbal information by observing the father was not available.

Before each interview the researcher took time to prepare to listen and learn from the informant. This preparation involved seeking a quiet restful time just prior to the meeting. During this time the researcher attempted to physically relax, to put aside day to day concerns which might be distracting during the interview, and to focus on

positive interviewing techniques. Prior to the second and third interviews with a father, the previous interviews with that father were reviewed to reacquaint the interviewer with the father. In addition, specific written questions from the field notes were reviewed.

The initial interviews were unstructured and usually began with the question, "Could you tell me something about yourself?" Often the second area of inquiry began with the question, "Could you tell me about your children?" The other questions in the first interviews were asked to encourage elaboration and to seek clarification. Often fathers were asked to tell a story or to describe an incident to illustrate his point. Several fathers expressed concern that they were "monologuing", "rambling", or "talking too much". Every attempt was made to assure the fathers that this was an important aspect of the research process. Fathers were encouraged to freely express their opinion and attitudes at all times.

Over time the interview questions became more specific as questions were asked to confirm or disprove relationships seen in the data. For example,when fathers talked almost exclusively about the things they enjoyed doing with their children, the researcher wondered if fathers tended to participate with their children only in activities that the father enjoyed. In subsequent interviews fathers were asked about their participation in activities with their children which their children enjoyed but the father did not.

Field notes were kept in two formats. The researcher's comments and impressions of the interviews were recorded in a computer file titled "COMMENTS" in the thesis data folder. Comments on the quotations in various categories were written at the bottom of the printout of the quotation. These comments served to reveal the values and possible biases of the researcher, they were beginning points for discussions with colleagues, they clarified connections between quotations and, they reminded the researcher of important emotions attached to the quotations.

Data Analysis

Analysis of the textual data from the unstructured interviews was accomplished with the aid of a Macintosh computer and Microsoft Word 4.0 program (Morse, 1991). The tape recorded interviews were transcribed onto a computer disk. The researcher

then simultaneously read the interview on the monitor and played the audio-tape. Corrections were made in the text and researcher's comments were inserted into the text using brackets to separate comments from text. Important phrases, anecdotes, or passages were selected by the researcher and "highlighted" by formatting in bold print. As categories emerged from the data, files were opened and labelled with a category title. The highlighted section of the text was then copied and entered into the appropriate file. All quotations copied into files included the name of the informant and the page number from which the quote was taken. Page breaks were inserted between each quotation to facilitate category subdivision and for ease of resorting as data analysis progressed. By reducing the window size of each file it was possible with the Macintosh computer to display twelve to sixteen windows/files at the same time. Double clicking on the title bar made it possible to move between files to review the data. As the volume of data grew it was necessary to transfer the files onto the hard drive. Both the transcripts and the files were read many times.

The constant comparison technique used in data analysis will now be described using examples from the actual data. A description of the colour coding of the large chart used in the analysis is also included. After the first four interviews the constant comparisons between the informants were recorded on a large paper chart. At this point the theme "LIKE ME" was clearly emerging from the data. "LIKE ME" referred to the fathers' description of their children as similar in such areas as conduct or personality to the father. The information from the files was colour coded into four categories and was recorded on the chart-) "like me"-okay (green), "like me"-not okay (blue), "not like me"-okay (orange), "not like me" -not okay-(red). References to each child for each category were entered in a separate box beside the father's name. This procedure made it possible to see both variations between fathers as well as variations between children with the same father.

As the data analysis and interviewing progressed, the theme of "THE PAST" emerged strongly from the data. New categories, "PAST REPEATED" and "PAST PROBLEMS" were entered into the chart using the colours brown and purple respectively. The category of "PAST REPEATED" included for each father the ideas and behaviors from their own childhood which the father felt were valuable and important enough to repeat, for example, "I've been a staunch believer of the fact that uh..the farm is the place to raise children today and it always was because that's where I was raised." The category "PAST PROBLEMS" included for each father, events

from their own childhood which the father disliked and would not choose to repeat with their own children, for example, "My father-he worked away from home all my life. And so, I know what it's like not really having your dad around so I made a point of getting a job so I could be home with her every day."

Two additional categories were added to complete the analysis, "I DO"(with/for my children) and "I WANT (for my child/children). These categories were also colour coded to indicate their connection to the other categories. The colour coded chart offered a visual representation of the constant comparisons between the fathers. The colour coding accented the patterns in the relationship between the events of the past and the fathers behavior in the present. Through study of the chart and explanation of the chart to colleagues, an understanding of the basis social psychological process and the core category emerged.

The movement from the concrete data to the abstract thinking about the process of fathering was aided by the writing of memos. Memos reflected my thoughts and ideas regarding the connections between the fathers as well as what was going on between fathers and their children. Memo writing developed questions which in turn required re-examining the existing data or going out to collect more data to verify findings. An example of a question which arose from the memos came from the observation that one of the father's used of the word "we" during the interviews when the father was referring to relationships between mother and daughter. This led to the question "Do fathers have their own relationships with their children or do they "borrow" their wives' relationships?" The transcripts were reread for evidence to answer this question. This constant rereading of the data to answer questions encouraged seeing the data from various perspectives. The discussion of the findings with others was important in identifying researcher bias which was memoed and reviewed throughout the data analysis.

Reliability and Validity

Issues of reliability and validity in scientific research refer to the minimization of error and control over the accuracy and veracity of the research process (Brink, 1990). In qualitative methodology the researcher attempts to avoid as much error as possible in taping, transcribing, analysis, and quoting in context. The researcher seeks to be true at all times to the data and to develop theory which accurately "fits" with the experience

of the respondents as understood by the researcher. Several strategies are employed by the researcher to address the issues of reliability and validity and a discussion of these will follow.

Strategies

Reliability and validity of the findings were ensured by the use of several techniques one of which was purposive theoretical sampling to saturation. Representativeness in theoretical sampling was a consideration of the researcher. Fathers with differing combinations of children- only boy-child, only girl-child, older daughter-younger son, older son -younger daughter, only girls, only boys were sought. In addition these fathers varied in marital relationships from traditional married couple relationships, to non-traditional married couple relationships, to a joint-custody divorced father. These fathers also held a wide variety of occupations such as police officer, lawyer, farmer, oilfield worker, and office workers for large corporations. Despite the differences in employment, interests, marital relationships, gender composition and size of family, the BSPP was applicable to all the fathers.

When seeking fathers, the researcher clearly indicated to the sources the qualities necessary in a key informant, the nature of the study, and the expectations in terms of number of interviews, length of interviews as well as the necessity of audiotapes. As a result, the fathers who volunteered to be interviewed were aware of the nature of their commitment and they more than generously shared their time and energy in the telling of their experience. The qualities of a good informant were met by all participating fathers ensuring rich and detailed data. As well, the fathers were interviewed several times over a period of time allowing for verification of previous discussion, clarification, and repetition of information. In this way tests of reliability are built into the qualitative research process (Brink, 1990).

By striving for quality of sound reproduction in taping interviews and accuracy in transcribing the researcher minimized the error associated with inaccuracies in the interview text. All the tapes were listened to several times and the transcripts were checked for errors before any coding began. Sighs, tears, laughter, and pauses were recorded onto the text to maintain the context of the data. In addition, the researcher was aware that errors of misquoting or quoting out of context would affect the validity

of the findings, therefore, every effort was made to become familiar with both the text and the original tape.

Data gathering and analysis occurred over a one year time period. The length of time allowed for the "delayed action" phenomenon discussed by Glaser (1978). Delayed action refers to the discovery of the basic social process through coding, analyzing, and collecting of data over time allowing for "cooking". "Significant theoretical realizations come with growth and maturity in the data..."(Glaser, 1978, p. 18). Pacing of data gathering and data analysis allowed the researcher to become increasingly familiar with the interview text and also allowed time for indepth seminar discussions with colleagues and advisors. Connections and comparisons were made slowly and surely after adequate thought.

Verification of findings was obtained by asking others including secondary informants and peers about the validity of the findings from their experience as fathers or with fathers. Many related the process to their own parenting experiences and were curious about the extent to which the BSPP would be applicable to mothers.

In all types of research the effect of researcher bias is of concern. This is particularly true of qualitative research because of the high degree of interaction between the researcher and the informant and the researcher and the data. It is the researcher who chooses the informants, the researcher who codes the data, the researcher who develops the categories, and in the end the researcher who develops the theory. The codes, the categories, and the theory, however, come from the data. The researcher must be motivated at all times to be true to the data. Quotations must never be taken out of context. Categories and abstractions must be continually checked with the data for fit. By sharing thoughts in discussion groups and through memoing the researcher's values and judgements become clear. Researchers need not be free of their own values, rather researchers need to be aware of their values and the impact those values have in the interpretation of the data.

In the interaction between the researcher and the informant, social desirability in responses is an issue. The assumptions the informants make about the interviewer may bias the responses. In this study the researcher was careful to explain to the fathers that honest revelations of their experiences and opinions were essential. Several fathers made remarks which indicated they assumed the researcher was a feminist and would

not appreciate hearing their attitudes towards gender issues. This pointed out the necessity of reassuring the fathers that they were free to say whatever was true in their experience. Fathers' opinions were not challenged by the researcher nor were fathers' reports of their behavior. Questions were worded in such a way as to avoid "correct" answers or eliciting agreement or disagreement with the interviewer. The atmosphere of the interview was relaxed and friendly encouraging disclosure.

The applicability of the research findings to other similar groups is not assumed. The presentation of the theoretical model based upon the data gathered in this research is accurate and true to the experience of the fathers interviewed as interpreted by the researcher. The strategies discussed in the previous paragraphs have been implemented in the interest of rigorous qualitative methodology.

Ethical Considerations

Ethical clearance for this study was obtained from the Department of Family Studies, University of Alberta, Ethics Review Committee. Following an explanation of the study written informed consent was obtained from all fathers in the face-to-face interviews and tape recorded verbal consent was obtained in every telephone interview (see Appendix A) The consent form included an explanation of the nature of the study, the lack of risk or benefit to the father, the right of the father to withdraw from the study at any time or to refuse to answer questions, and names and contact telephone numbers of the researcher and her advisor. The consent form was reviewed prior to each interview. A copy of the consent form was left with the fathers.

Participants were guaranteed anonymity by the use of initials only in the transcripts, and memos. Identifying names and places were changed in all quotations and presentations. Measures, including discretion in discussions with colleagues and storage of tapes, transcripts, and consent forms in a locked file, were taken to ensure confidentiality. The audiotapes were destroyed upon completion of the thesis, however, the transcripts will be kept by the researcher for a period of five years.

The researcher was aware that evidence of child abuse had to be reported to the proper authorities. The researcher was prepared to make referrals to local assistance agencies if the need arose, however, the list of support/assistance agency numbers was not necessary.

A short report of the research findings was sent to all the fathers who participated in the study. Several fathers have asked to read the completed thesis manuscript and their request was honored.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

The purpose of the research was to describe fathers' experience of fatherhood. The goal of the comparative analysis was to discover and name the psychological process described by the fathers. The basic social psychological process emerging from the data collected in this study of fathers and represented by the far left side of the model (Figure 1, p. 25) is "Moulding the child/children to the image". The process of moulding includes five components: 'Making a relationship', 'Making them safe', 'Making them smarter', 'Making them behave', and 'Making them fit for the world'. Each of these components is represented in the center section of the model with the sub-categories of the component listed below the component. The BSPP, "Moulding", is set in the context of Parenting From the Past. Parenting From The Past is represented by a continuous line at the bottom of the model. The continuous line indicates the ongoing nature of the influence of the past on the present. The sub-categories of the context of the past and the relationship between them are represented below 'Parenting From The Past'. Moulding is a gradual process which begins between a father and his child in the child's early life and continues until the child reaches late teens or adulthood. In "Moulding", the desire of the father is to help to shape the child, "Making Them to be Someone The Father Can be Proud Of". "Making Them to be Someone The Father Can be Proud Of" is represented at the far right of the model.

In this chapter the model will be further explained. An overview of the context or setting of the basic social psychological process will be described. This will be followed by a description of the concept of moulding. Each of the components of moulding will be described and evidence for each component will be provided from the transcripts. Variations in the fathers' experiences as well as connections between fathers' experiences will be demonstrated using quotations from the data. The chapter will conclude with a discussion, supported by the transcripts, of the outcome or "someone the father can be proud of" for each father.

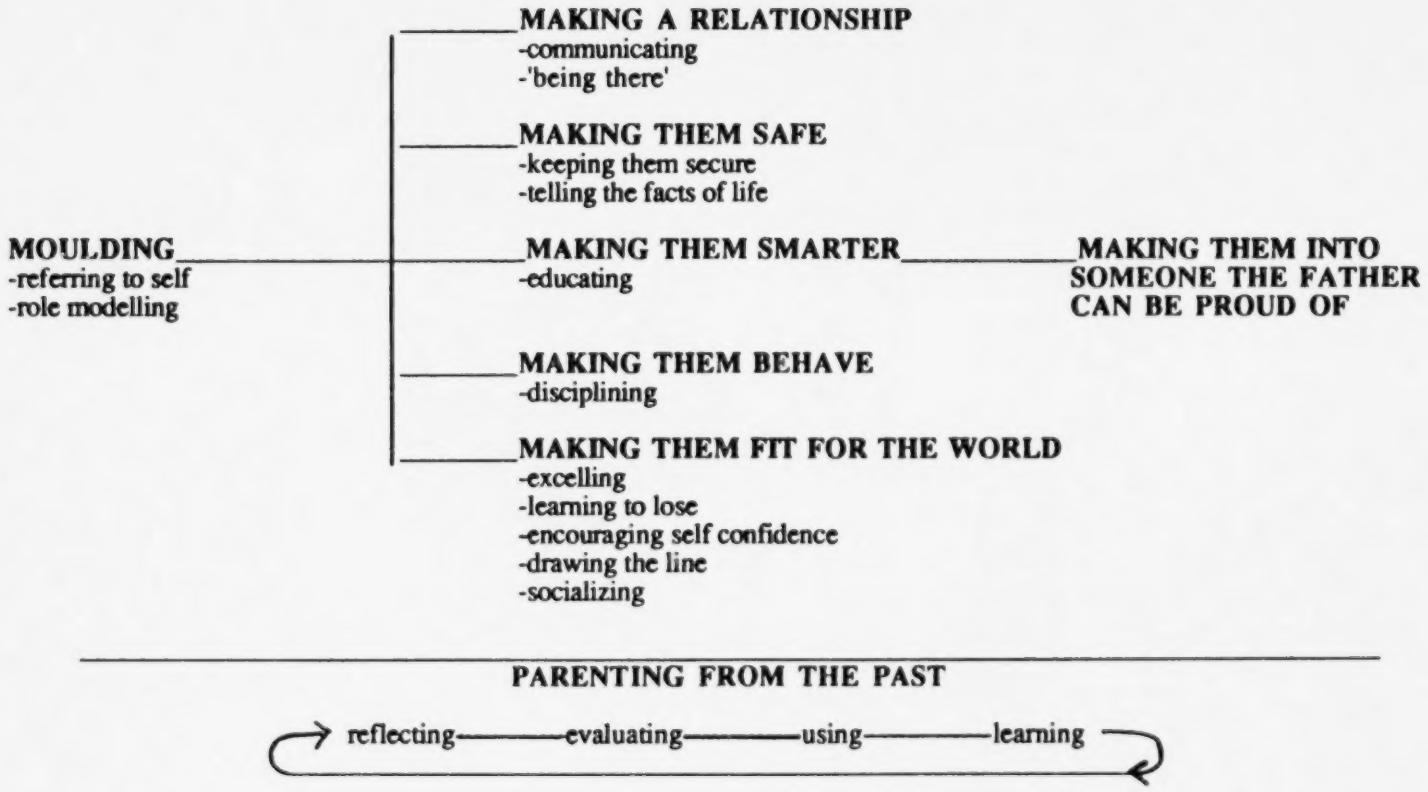

Figure 1: MODEL OF THE BSPP 'MOULDING'

Parenting From The Past

Reflecting

All the fathers interviewed explained that the parenting of their children was influenced by their own parents'.parenting and the fathers' own childhood experiences. For fathers, current parenting is set within the context of fathers' perceptions of the past . Fathers' reflecting on their own childhood is an continuous process. Fathers do not seem to sort out and resolve their own past when child is born. Rather, as the children of the fathers in the study grew and experienced new situations, fathers thought back to their own experiences of similar situations in order to make decisions on how to handle such issues as discipline, access to peers, church attendance, social events, school problems, and sports. Fathers deliberately decided to repeat the behavior of their own parents if they thought the behavior was appropriate or they consciously decided to abandon their parents methods in favour of methods they considered to be more desirable.

> I suppose it was kind of my upbringing, you know? Whether it's right or wrong, all we can do is attempt to glean out the good and the bad and then tend to go from there. You pick up or you pick up images or stuff from our parents and we judge them right or wrong. Then when we raise our kids, we attempt to take what's right. Then from our own experiences I suppose too.

> He'd been doing this for awhile and I thought okay, how did my mom and dad deal with this? Why don't I do that? And I remembered an incident that my mother always did, she took it back. If we were caught stealing, which I was, she took it back and made us give the thing back and tell the people what we did. The scariest feeling in the world. And it comes back to you.

> I suppose you do relate it to how you were brought up. You think of the things that happened to you. If something has happened, you think, "Oh yeah, that was done right", or other things, "No they weren't done right".

> Starting out as a young father a lot of things you don't know. You know only from the patterns you've learned from your parents, and my parenting was not what I would consider great, you know? Not to say that my parents were faulty. It's just they were, what they were and did was the best they could and I learned from that. Over the years I've found what seems to work...What did work. But their approach didn't feel right to me and it took me about maybe ten years to find that out. Because I was always coming from the space of acting one way but feeling in my gut something else.

Evaluating

In sorting out how to raise their own children based on fathers' own experiences, the judgement by fathers of how they were raised was not harsh. Even fathers whose own fathers were alcoholics or workaholics had a sense that their parents did the best they could with limited resources or considering the norms of the culture at the time.

> He had very little involvement of any form in my upbringing. I would have preferred that he had more but I think he came from the school that children were woman's work.

> My dad, he is an alcoholic right now. He has been one for as long as I remember. So I guess, he's always meant good. He's never been mean to me or my brother anything that way. But I guess, living with an alcoholic parent, it doesn't give you the same sense of what a father should be like.

> My dad, a part of his makeup was, I suppose he has his own ways of releasing this tension and maybe that's why he drank. But,.interestingly enough, during this here time he didn't drink. And my dad, my dad was a good dad.

Most fathers related their parenting at the present to the methods used by their fathers rather than their mothers although fathers also spoke of 'my parents'. Two fathers were raised almost exclusively by their mothers, one due to his father's untimely death and the other due to divorce. Both of these men spoke affectionately of their mothers and acknowledged that their mothers had done a good job raising them.

> We lived in a single parent family. I remember my childhood as being relatively content. I wouldn't use the term 'happy' but content. My mother was an extremely good caretaker. I don't recall an awful lot of game playing or overt affection but we were always neatly dressed or as neatly dressed as little boys can get. She's always terribly concerned about our well-being.

> She knew our friends. She knew them as well as she knew us. And a lot of them still to this day go and talk to my mom about problems they can't talk to their parents about. If nothing else, that's what I want. I keep telling my son, "I'm your daddy and I'm your friend".

General statements by fathers regarding fathers' parents indicate acceptance and understanding, of their parents, however, Parenting from the Past includes thinking about both the "good" and the "bad" aspects of their upbringing. The following paragraphs will evidence that fathers, throughout the interviews, also described their

approaches to their own children as an attempts to improve upon the way they were raised. Some fathers repeated parental behaviors even though they determined these approaches were unsatisfactory in their own childhood.

Part of these father's reflections of the past involve considering what they missed, what they think they would have wanted or enjoyed. Fathers attempted to provide for their own children the things that fathers' feel they missed. Sometimes what a father felt he missed was emotional in nature such as a close relationship with his father or physical affection or encouragement and support. Sometimes fathers felt they missed material possessions and sometimes they missed opportunities or activities that other children had and the father, as a child, did not.

> I try and make up for some things that I never had. The closeness, the openness. We like to be honest with her. We like to teach her. We like to just try and start her off on the right track in life.

> I didn't have the opportunities that I think I'm trying to give him. My own father died when I was very young.

> I guess maybe it's the old parent thing where you like people to do what you weren't able to.

> I am doing all this because I don't want them to feel the way I did having not have the support of my parents in the things that I did.

Using

With regard to some parental values, character traits, and decisions, fathers decide that the pattern set by their parents was one they wish to emulate in their family of procreation. The following quotation is typical of the admiration some fathers had for their own fathers, the influence of one generation over another and the importance, to some, of transmitting certain values from one generation to the next.

> But my dad was a very determined person too. And he would never say die. He would never say, 'Okay, I'm defeated now.", and pull the pin. Well, never say die- that's not in his vocabulary. I think that's very important for someone too. Someone said the story about the Titanic when it went down-the only people that lasted were the people that were determined, "I'm going to stay afloat." And that's, I believe that's the good things I've got from my dad. I feel the same way about doing something. If you're not going to do it right, don't do it. I don't give my

word on something unless I'm going to see it through. That's what I try to implant into my boys.

Sometimes fathers review the past and decide not to repeat their parent's behavior but in various ways the behavior is repeated despite the father's decision to avoid what he considered to be undesirable. In the following quotation one father described how he resented the comparisons his parents made between himself and his older siblings and how his parents used these comparisons to try to motivate him. Even though the father disliked this method, the second quotation indicates he used the same technique to try to motivate his own daughter to change behavior he felt was undesirable.

And that's how I was always pushed through school. I am seven years younger than my sister so it was always, "Oh yeah, your sister did this and your brother did that", and I don't think that's a right way to do it.

When my son was old enough he went to bed straight from day one and then it was almost that you could make a little contest out of it. "Well, come on J., your brother is younger than you and he's going to bed." That seemed to work too. She grasped onto that and thought well, he's not going to be one up on me.

Learning

The fathers in the study reflected on the parenting they had received as children, evaluated that parenting and used that thinking to evolve their own ways of interacting with their children. Evidence that fathers' in the study spent a great deal of time evaluating their own parenting behaviour was lacking. However, there was the sense that fathers' tried to discover the most effective ways of obtaining children's compliance to parental standards. The following quotation gives the sense of a father's attitude towards learning from the results of implementing decisions derived from the father's experience of the past.

There is no set rules, they just come along whatever works you use. Whatever don't work you throw out.

The past, both the positive and negative aspects, serves as the context for the BSPP of "Moulding" described in the succeeding section of this chapter. In each component of the moulding process there is evidence in the quotations that fathers refer to their childhood experiences and to their own character traits and behavior as the basis for the fathers' present interactions and decision making with respect to their children.

MOULDING

Moulding is the basic social psychological process of shaping a child's behaviour and personal characteristics into what the study fathers' perceive to be their image of a successful person. The degree to which fathers' perceive their children as able to be moulded and themselves as the moulding agent, differed amongst the fathers interviewed. Some fathers felt they were able to have a significant influence in their child's personality traits and other fathers felt their children had their own personality from birth and it was then father's role to shape the child's given, innate traits. One father described "Moulding" using the Zen image. He imagined the process as standing with his one hand resting on his son's shoulder and the other hand pointing to universe. In pointing out the direction, in making decisions about moulding the child, the fathers most often used themselves as a reference point . Fathers encouraged in their children the things they liked about themselves, they discouraged in their children the things they disliked about themselves.

Role Modelling

Part of moulding is the belief that children look to their fathers as role models. The fathers believed that their children looked to them for guidance on appropriate behaviour. For some fathers, role modelling was gender specific, however, as the quotations indicate, this was not the opinion of all of the fathers. Some fathers were so aware of the modelling process that they wanted to verbalize their opinions and attitudes to their children in the hope there would be a minimization of misunderstanding.

> I think it's again natural. He tries to model himself more after me because he's a boy and because he's going to grow up to be a man and have children of his own.

> No one gets to know how she feels my daughter's a "keeper" She gets to know how everybody else feels and helps them handle that but nobody gets to see how she feels. Maybe she models herself alittle bit after her dad, I don't know (laughs).

> I don't know what his attitude was when I was growing up. I didn't know what his attitudes were towards relationships, towards kids, towards careers, towards attitudes, anything from ethics in government to racial aspects. I didn't have much exposure to that at all and it didn't have an opportunity to work it's way into my subconscious. My son, on the other hand, doesn't have to worry about going into his subconscious. He gets it verbally from me.

I would think that his bond to me is becoming stronger and well I'm not sure it is. I think part of that is also because little boys, as they grow older, need guidance on how to become men. And women cannot give them that. Just as I doubt that a man can give a little girl the guidance she needs on how to become a woman.

Referring to Self

The following are examples of fathers using themselves as a reference for moulding their children. Some fathers very consciously attempted to influence their children to emulate what the father perceived to be his most admirable qualities such as conscientious work habits, perseverance, honesty, consideration for others.

I think I'm a pretty good individual so I want him to have a lot of my traits and then, I want a few of them him not to have.

Maybe as you're trying to mould them into what you do because my son is playing soccer which is something I grew up playing and played for all my life. Both children are doing a lot of reading which is something I used to do as well, when I was a kid.

It seems really wicked. No, not nasty but kind of teasing and playing around. That's the way I am and the way my father was as well. That's something that's kind of been passed down. I don't know if he's like myself. I think you like to mould him into the way that you are.

I can be a little pushy as a lot of dads I think, you know?. You want them to be just like you or better which you think were in your head. Which you weren't always physically. But my wife helps in that area to tone me down a little saying maybe he's just not quite ready, and I've learned to listen to her a bit.

While he is with me, I tend to foster involvement with his friends more than his mother does. I think that was because when I grew up, I had a very strong peer group association. The people I went to school with I still associate with. At grade school, you know grade two, grade three are still people that I associate with on a weekly or bi-weekly basis. My son's mother did not have the same type of close peer group relationship and it appears that it is not as important for her at this time.

At the same time, these fathers attempted to curb in their children behavior which they recognized as a modelling of their undesirable traits, such as, bad tempers, stubbornness, lack of patience, and untidiness.

I don't want him to be a messy individual. I think 'cause I'm a little messy myself and that's something I don't want for him. I'm riding him a little more than maybe I should right now with things like that.

But they don't really realize what a dollar is worth. I don't want them to be the way I was because my dad was always concerned about money. As a result, I'm over-concerned about it. I guess they're different but different in a good way.

I really don't like the fact that they're not tidy and that they don't feel obligated. I did chores and did everything because I told to, ordered to, and threatened that if I didn't do whatever. I'm not as tidy as I should be. I try to continue to work at it. My place here, the outside. You know, I'm not as organized with my personal affairs as I am with the outside.

I mean he's stubborn. He's got a great big temper like I do.

The study fathers differed in their beliefs regarding children's personality development. The first quotations express the belief of some fathers that a child's personality develops gradually and is formed in early childhood by parental direction. Other fathers, as the third quotation reveals, believe their children are born with a formed personality which the parents can nurture in the direction they choose. Regardless of the fathers' theory of personality development, the belief that it was the father's role to shape their child's personality and behavior into some form acceptable to the father, was evident.

By the time the kid's three or four years old, they develop their own personality, their makeup, what you instill in them. Well, that's my belief. Especially at an early age.

Well, the kids are overwhelming, aren't they? They're definitely that. They are an extension of you, the time and the effort you put into them.

I think she's got her own personality more because we thought of my daughter as a real individual right from the day she was born. She had her mind made up. She had a very strong, a strong will. We let her have her own personality more than saying she's like Dad or she's like Mom. She's like herself.

In the following quotation a father cautions that in moulding a child, the parent's expectations for a child that may exceed the child's capabilities. The quotation indicates that sometimes parents have unrealistic dreams for their children which are actually part of the parent's unfulfilled past. This father recognizes in encouraging his child, he

must keep sight of who the child is and not get carried away in wanting the child to fulfill the parent's dreams.

> You have to do things within their limitations. Your child's not Superman no matter how much you want it. You feel like he is sometimes, that he can do anything or be anything and be just the things you couldn't have been. Too many parents want that.

In contrast, the following quotation is an example of a father who expresses disappointment at his daughters' lack of interest in appreciating what he missed in his childhood. He has provided for his daughters, the musical opportunities he wishes he had been given and his daughters have argued about practicing to the point that their father has cancelled their music lessons.

> Because I'm embarrassed. I don't sing in church or I don't sing anywhere. I can't. I enjoy certain music but I can't tell whether they're singing right or wrong. My parents didn't spend any time encouraging me to take music. We didn't have any money at the time and I am very envious of the people who could be the life of the party. When I was growing up-sitting at the piano was for the young people who could band together and enjoy music. Music is wonderful yet , I don't know anything about it. I would really say that I'm disappointed in my daughters because they don't get involved. I always appreciate people with or families with musical talent, singing for guests at Christmas or grandparents or things like this. I think it's good for young people to be comfortable with performing. It builds your confidence. Plus, that added dimension to their life later on.

The basic social psychological process of "Moulding the child into an image" involves role modelling. In moulding children, fathers encourage their children to develop the qualities the fathers admire in their own character as well as restraining in their children,the traits fathers find undesirable in their own character. The fathers differed in the degree to which they believed they actually influenced their children and they differed in the degree to which they wanted to have influence in their childrens lives. Some fathers openly acknowledged and respected the tension between the father's dreams for the child and the child as an individual while others did not. In all cases it was evident in the interview data that fathers attempted to mould their children.

The following sections will describe the five specific components of the moulding process which were identified from the data. The titles, "Making a Relationship", "Making them Safe", "Making them Smarter", "Making them Behave", and "Making them Fit for the World" were chosen to represent the types of interactions the fathers said they had with their children and the meaning these interactions had for the fathers.

"Making a Relationship"

Communicating

The first component to be discussed will be "Making a Relationship" because it is from this basis that all other components are possible. "Making a Relationship" involves the fathers' desires to build open communication with their children and fathers' desires to be available to their children. The fathers in the study wanted a relationship with their children which was close enough that their children felt free to come to talk with them. Many want to be able to communicate with their children in ways fathers' parents were unable to communicate with fathers.

> We both feel that we are friends with the kids, not just a disciplinarian with them. We both try to be friends with them. We feel that they can come and talk to us whenever they want.

> So I think that's the biggest thing I'm trying to get into him is, I've always wanted him to know that he can come to me and say everything. I don't care what it is. I will do my best to help.

> We can sit down and talk about theft being wrong. We'd never have had conversations like that with my father. Never had discussions about sex. So in terms of the formation of the attitudes, they're not there. When I visit my father, it's essentially the same as visiting like an uncle.

> Your father would never tell you that he loved you. You'd never tell him, although you know it. It's there but it's never something that is brought up. I don't know whether it's because of that but all they time you seem to be telling your kids, "Oh, I love you" and they say the same back. They are probably more cuddly than I ever was,or I ever remember being with my father.

Being able to communicate with their children had several purposes. The fathers' seek to be part of the formation of attitudes, to help in times of difficulty, to offer affection, to be friends, and to indicate to children that the father loves and is interested in them. Not only are fathers interested in having their children confide in them, fathers are also interested in confiding in their children especially as their children got older. This quotation is an example of this type of communication.

> [I]t was a trip and at that time I talked to him about a lot of things that I had experienced when I was growing, up in a way explaining some of where I was

coming from some of the time. Based on what I had learned myself. I didn't want him to ever feel that his opinions or emotions or feelings weren't real. He could express them however he liked but that I may not always agree with how he expresses them. They're still real.

Being There

The other important aspect of "Making a Relationship" between these fathers and their children was the fathers' emphasis on 'being there' for their children. Despite variations in the amount of time spent with children and differences in the types of activities in which these fathers participated, all the fathers expressed the desire to be a part of their child's life. 'Being there" included fathers' planning to be both physically present in their child's life and making efforts to participate in activities with their children.

Being physically present for the child involved changing jobs for some fathers:

> And I found, I was working on the rigs at that time-I found that just being away from my daughter especially for two weeks so many things had changed. Just little things that she did and was starting to do. And so I thought that would be the end of that and I wouldn't work away from home anymore. My father-he worked away from home all my life. I know what it's like not really having your dad around. I made a point of getting a job so I could be home with her every day.

> We bought this piece of property and it has excellent soil which allows me to do whatever I want with the land. I enjoy that very much because the girls can't get away from me and I can't get away from them. They can look look out the window and I'm working out all the time. I spend a lot of time here.

and for others it involved changing work patterns:

> I don't like things like trips away. I would bend over backwards. I would leave like first thing in the morning at 4:00 and drive to a place rather than go the night before and stay in a hotel. A lot of my bosses asked, "Why are you spending like six hours driving in the morning to be there for 8:00 in the morning? Why don't you just go the day before, take it easy, sit in the hotel?" I don't like being away from my family. I like being here. I spend as much time with him as I possibly can.

The second aspect of 'being there' involved being active as a parent both paying attention to what was happening in a child's life and being part of the child's activities. Fathers recognize that physical presence alone does not mean they are part of their

child's life. Even though this father was home every night with his children for years, he came to realize that he actually was missing out on being a parent.

> I was sitting down reading a book one day, Realize Your Dreams, it's called by Hines from Toronto. It said, "What could you do for your family right now that would make a real difference?" And the first thing that came to mind was stop drinking. So I stopped drinking. Since that point, from my perspective,.the relationship I had with my children improved. I was no longer ignoring things that I think I should have been paying attention to.

Another father who was raised in Wales and emigrated to Canada shortly after his marriage, discussed the differences between the type of father he would have been if he had remained in Wales. He emphasizes the importance of 'peer pressure' to be involved in the family unit in Canada. He recognizes that his current type of involvement was not something he would have foreseen nor was it something he planned when he first became a father.

> The family life is different over there. The mother and fathers tend to do their own thing more and leave the kids to tend to fend for themselves. Whereas here everything is orientated around doing things as a family unit. Back home, probably a weekend, you'd hardly have seen me. I probably would end up working Saturday morning, playing soccer Saturday afternoon, in the pub Saturday night and come home when they were in bed. Sunday I would have ended up playing soccer again, and then they might have seen me Sunday afternoon, and then probably down to the pub Sunday night. That's just the way it goes. It's completely different thing. There is no unit.

'Being there' as part of a child's life was something some of these fathers fell into because of cultural pressure and others planned and worked towards. The two divorced fathers felt especially strongly about remaining an important, active part of their childrens' lives.

> My ex and her husband were looking at moving out of the country, job opportunities for her husband. That was last spring, and the expectation was that my son was going to stay with me until they were settled and then follow them. If she chooses to move, that's her choice. But don't expect me to give up my parental enjoyment, obligation, and duties. I would be prepared to fight very deeply for something like that.
>
> I talk to my kids. I have always talked to my kids. We made a point of phoning them at least every two weeks when they weren't with us so we had good contact. I knew what was going on.all the time more or less from talking to my kids.

The attitude of the fathers in the study towards 'being there' can be summed up by the following comment from one of the fathers.

> I'm not going to wake up 10 years from now and say, "God, I wish would have spent more time."

Making Them Safe

Keeping them secure

The second component of "Moulding" is "Making them Safe'. Within this component two elements,security and sex education, were emphasized by the fathers. These fathers believed that feelings of security were essential for children. The fathers' role was to protect their children so the children were free to explore and experience life. Fathers attempted to build feelings of security by setting rules and guidelines, by explaining 'right' and 'wrong', and by encouraging supervised challenges. These quotations exemplify fathers' notions of security.

> I think that's what children want is security. They want to know, "I don't have to worry because this person's looking after me, I'm safe."

> They need rules. They need guidelines. They need to know that I'm safe doing that and I'm protected from that because dad's protecting me.

> My son knows that he is respected. He doesn't feel threatened if I need someone because he knows that his place with me is secure. He doesn't have to worry about somebody else coming along and taking his place. Someone else may come along and complement him in my life but they'll never replace him. And once you get that down, I think the rest is, so far as feelings of security are concerned, the rest is great.

> I explained to them right and the wrong. My kids are going to do whatever they're going to do but at least we're going to have a basis to step out on.

> Mothers are far more, "Ooh, he could get hurt." Dads say, "You got to go out and do these things. You got to be tough. You got to be a guy." Mom wants you to be safe and secure and all that kind of stuff. I don't think she realizes that dads want that stuff too. Or I think this dad does anyway.

Telling the facts of life

The other important aspect of 'making them safe' was discussing sex. Fathers in the study attempted to talk to their children about sex in order to give their children information which was unavailable to the fathers when they were children. Many fathers told the story of their own father's or mother's discussions of sex with the emphasis on their parents' embarrassment and the inadequacy of the information. The clear message in the interviews was on fathers desire to be open, freer and less 'hung-up' than their own parents were. Fathers want their children to be informed for their childrens' safety and protection from AIDS, from premarital pregnancy, from common misconceptions about sex, and to emphasize parental values. While fathers in this study were not opposed to sex education in the schools, they felt that sex education was part of their parental responsibility and such education should occur in the home. The following quotations illustrate the experiences fathers in the study had with their parents and these fathers' feelings regarding discussing sex with their children.

> I remember the night. She sat down, I guess I must have been about 12. She decided it was time for her to do her thing and she was terribly embarrassed and said, my recollection goes, "Son, we have to talk about sex." And I could see how embarrassed she was and I said, "Well, we've already talked about that in health class and I know all about it." She sighed a huge sigh of relief because she was going do it if it had to be done. With me having said that we'd covered it in health even though we hadn't, she had done her bit and it was never mentioned again. I learned from "Playboys" then I remember , and the "Joy of Sex". it would have been out about that time.

About his own son this father had this to say,

> Probably within the next five to eight years, he will become sexually active and I want him to know what his responsibilities are. I want him to know not only the technical but the emotional aspects. I want him to know that he cannot rely on what women tell him in terms of forms of protection they are using. That he has to take the responsibility and the reason for that is I have a friend who was told by his girlfriend that she was using the pill and she decided she wanted to get pregnant. She went off the pill because she thought if she became pregnant, he would have to marry her. And so she specifically lied to him, went off the pill and she became pregnant. I want him to understand that he cannot rely on what he is told but that he has assume the full responsibility. If I choose to be sexually active now, I have to bear that responsibility. He will have to bear the same.

Another father's experience,

> And it was difficult for my dad. It really, really was. He said, "Well son, I feel I should explain it to you. You've probably heard all these rumours in school",and stuff like this. And he said, "I would like to set the record straight." But he was labouring with it. I said, "Dad, it's really okay, Dad cause I know, I know." Of course, I didn't know what I had to know but I knew enough to help him out. But anyways, my dad went on for a few more minutes and I said, "Well, gee Dad, I know that Dad. You don't have to tell me." He said "Oh, okay, son, okay, you know." I was kind of left with that. But really, it was difficult for him. I always said to my wife when we bring our kids up, that's not going to be an issue. If you have any problem, it's not going to be come on son, let's sit down and talk. No. It's something that we're going introduce as the kids get older and then gradual and in a more freer way so we can sit down and talk.

About his own child,

> I love my dad but it was too little, too late. Where I picked it up was of course in school washrooms which is not-which is not the forum for it. A lot of people my age, that's where they learned it. I totally disagree with that. It should be learnt in the home. When it does come up in the locker room or whatever, at least my son's going to have the knowledge behind him. Whether he wants to pipe up and say something, that's immaterial. At least he's not going to be under any misdemeanors of what's going on—any clouds. It's going to be clear in his mind what's happening. That's important.

Making Them Smarter

Educating

The third component of "Moulding" is "Making them Smarter". The study fathers saw their children as intelligent, they encouraged their childrens' education in various ways, they provided advantages for their children when they could and they took pride in their childrens' accomplishments. The following paragraphs and quotations elaborate on these aspects of "Making them Smarter".

Without exception, the fathers in the study valued education and expressed pride in their children's intelligence. School marks and teachers comments were most often sighted as evidence of children's intelligence. Other indications of intelligence were enjoyment of reading and books, ability of the child to get their own way by manipulating parents, and ability of children to verbally express themselves.

> My daughter is really,really, really smart. Probably my ego speaking here, she's top of the class. When we go for parent-teacher's interview, the teacher is really

bubbling over about her and keeps rattling on about how nice she is, and how helpful she is and she can read. She has been able to read since she's about four and a half. She is doing really good. She's pretty intelligent, very intelligent for her age.

She was always a very bright kid and proved that out. She went through elementary school with absolutely no problems and when she got to high school she got involved in the international baccalaureate setup and graduated with honours and a $1500 scholarship. She is going to university.

He's very bright. I've enjoyed reading stories to him right from about age five months or something like that and he would sit and listen as long as an hours at a time. It's fascinating, all of the children I've read to but he seemed to be the one who was most comfortable with just sitting listening. He's a very expressive boy.

In families where there was more than one child and one of the children was particularly bright at school different qualities of the other child were emphasized or sometimes both the children in the family were seen as having the same level of intelligence.

My oldest boy, at eleven, he's very mature. Very responsible. Very good student. My youngest boy is a-is very energetic, very let's go get them! School, well, "Hey dad, I've got average plus!"

The fathers who were very proud of the intelligence of one of their children were quick to point out that they did not expect the same level of achievement from all their children. The fathers in the study tried to respect each child's individuality as the following comments indicate.

I think you have to find out what their level of achievement is, and if its just class average or whatever, and if they are up around there, that's fine. They don't have to be any Einsteins.

My oldest gets marks in the mid eighties to twenties in subjects he doesn't like. He just won't do it. I'm o.k. with that, it doesn't bother me. I'd like to see it different. I say it doesn't bother me in the sense that it's that important to me. My other son's marks are always pretty much the same mid seventies to low eighties so he's okay.

The study fathers encourage the education of their children in various ways. They believe it is essential to show an active interest in their childrens' school life. Some fathers do this by volunteering their time in the classroom while others show interest by attending parent teacher interviews, helping with homework, and developing

reading and thinking skills by reading to their children and helping with puzzles or games.

> I try to show an interest in the things that she is doing on her own and give her support. Now is the time that she's getting into that stage, swimming, dancing, tap dancing, school, I'm going to support her and volunteer my services to the kindergarten and help out quite a bit. You have that time off so, maybe once a week, I could go down there and help out and do things. I want to show support and I think if a father can do that, to show support for their kid, that's, that's pretty darn good.

> Right from an early age, we both sat down with her and we probably did more with her than with our son. I think with our son being the second one and then G. occupying some of our time as well. With G. being the first one, both of us would sit down with books, puzzles, Sesame Street we would sit down and watch and just keep her interested. She seems to have a thirst for it. I don't think you can push that kind of a thing on a kid anyway. She seems to have a thirst for it.

> If you instill upon your kid reading and writing and they enjoy to do that, then they're going to continue on doing that.

Sometimes fathers try to give their children extra advantages by enrolling them in French Immersion schooling or private school or by purchasing equipment such as computers. The degree to which these attempts are successful varies as the following quotations reveal.

> We'd spent money on computer to make things better. We'd spent money on tutors to make things better. We spent money on sending him to a private school which was one of the biggest bloody mistakes I ever made in my life, it doesn't make things better.

> That was my theory of the French Immersion program she's in right now, hoping that she can appreciate two languages. Hopefully, she can become a little bit more intellectual and feel good about being able to be bilingual and hopefully that will be a bonus for her. From what we've heard say in the classes in French Immersion, the kids have got to work harder and there's not enough time for them to goof off like we had. That was one of the main reasons why we put her in that program. Just to give her a better chance hopefully.

Besides the formal education system, the fathers in the study wish to augment their children's education through providing enriching personal experiences. This quotation is an example of one father's attempt to expand his son's horizons.

We were driving along Jasper Avenue studying the architecture because that interested him-the construction of the buildings. I was pointing out the difference between the inlays on the old Henry Singer Building with some of the new glass modern ones showing him the difference. Like the old CIBC building on the corner directly north of the Hotel MacDonald where you have the carved stone trains coming up. I think my son has to be exposed to as many different things as possible.

Finally, some of the fathers in the study expressed pleasure in their childrens' accomplishments at school as a sign that they are doing a good job of parenting.

That makes me feel really good. I come out of the school about ten feet tall. It makes me feel in two ways. It makes you feel good that we are doing something right and also makes you feel good that away from us, she's not a different person. She is still acting in the same way we like her to act.

We went to parent-teacher interview and made us feel really proud that the teacher was saying she was getting along great, there was no problem.

Making Them Behave

The fourth component of "Moulding" is "Making them behave". This is a part of fathering which involves the disciplining of children. Fathers in the study discussed the importance of discipline, the techniques they used, the reasons they discipline, the types of behavior which require discipline, the influence of parents on fathers disciplining behavior, and the need for flexibility in dealing with children and rules. "Making them behave' was one of the subjects discussed most often discussed at length by fathers. The following paragraphs describe these aspects of "Making them Behave".

Disciplining

The techniques used by fathers to 'make them behave' were diverse and included spanking, yelling, grounding, isolating, and explaining. Several fathers discussed their decision not to spank their children but most explained that they had on occasion slapped their children to make them behave or to punish them for misbehaving. Grounding, which involves not allowing the child out of the house, and sending the child to his/her room were preferred methods used with older children.

When it does become necessary to ground them or spank them, it's usually a very more serious thing. It's what I call serious is like defiance, if I tell them to do something..."No." Well, we just don't stand for that.

I'm not a great believer in hitting your children. I don't think you have to. I have a good enough voice that if I drop my voice from level to another, he knows right away that I'm not too pleased. Depending on how you say something or how you look and say things that's transmitting all you need to do.

We don't believe in hitting them and maybe things that other people think are worth a spanking, we felt is worth the naughty corner. It seemed really to work. I don't know whether it worked because it was humiliating or what the reason was but it-it really seemed to work. Apart from maybe the odd kind of tap on the bum, they've never been spanked.

Most fathers voiced the opinion that problems between parents and children be discussed and that their children understand the discipline. It seemed important to these fathers that the sorting out take place soon after the incident.

We just try and talk it out. Again,trying to explain why we didn't want her to do something or the fact that we didn't understand that she was in this instance allowed to do something versus not allowed to do something. This type of thing. We try and do it that way. It may very well be that both parties are at fault. We sort of agree that both parties at fault and we give each other a hug.

If we yell at her, that hurts her feelings a lot. I think that sometimes if my wife is a little short-tempered after a hard day at work or something like that and if she screams, my daughter will cry and basically the same thing with me. We don't let it go on for too long. If we did that, we'll usually go and talk to her and get things straightened out right away. When things have gone astray somehow, we never send her to bed without straightening up the problem.

Another father explained how discipline must be administered thoughtfully in order to have the child understand the reason behind the parent's decisions. In this father's mind there were two ways of disciplining. Harsh lashing out by a parent which only serves to harden a child to the parent's will and the type of calm, reasoning discipline which makes children more pliable to the parent's will.

You want the repentance. But by disciplining him there and no repentance, you build a core inside and you've got to keep chipping away at that hard core. You got to make them pliable so they understand there's a reason behind why I can't go to the store right now. There's a reason behind why I can't do this particular thing. That's the way my folks brought me up and that's the way I try to do. By getting angry and upset and lashing out, it's totally wrong.

The study fathers felt there was a purpose to disciplining however, there were differing views on the purpose. Several fathers looked at discipline as a way to develop the traits such as honesty, responsibility as exemplified by this statement.

"Who took my screwdriver?" The boys will say, "Sorry Dad, I've got it upstairs in the bedroom". They'll bring it downstairs and I'll say, "Okay, this week, you're not allowed in my gun room." I have guns and all this stuff. "You 're not allowed", and that's kind of crushing because I spend a lot of time in there. They like to come in and tinker and play. It's a real incentive to keep them honest, keep them responsible.

Other fathers separated discipline from love and looked at discipline as a form of training. The purpose of discipline was to set guidelines for behavior in order to bring up a child that was likeable.

I'm a very strict person on discipline but I also believe in -I love them dearly. I think the only reason that I believe in the discipline is I think that's necessary. It's like having big dogs. Big dogs are great if they're well trained. If you have a big dog and he jumps all over people, well, nobody likes them. That's my idea. I think kids thrive on discipline.

When fathers were asked about the types of things their children did that made them angry, defiance and irresponsibility were the most serious offenses. Fathers separated these from everyday types of minor irritations which they attributed to either the child's or the father's moodiness or tiredness. Several examples of comments on serious anger follow.

I've worked since I have been fourteen. It's been a long fight to get where I am. I expect my son to recognize that respect is not a one way street. He has to look after our possessions, he has to be responsible in terms of doing homework. I get mad, angry if he doesn't, if he hurries his homework and tries to sluff off something. We actually don't get upset at each other very much.

I get annoyed when they don't help their mother with things around the house or in the morning. Unfortunately I leave before they get on the bus but the demands they make on their mother-"Why is it late?", "Why aren't my pants clean?", and, "Is this outfit ready?" Their rooms are a mess. I really get upset about them using their mother.

[W]hen they're sassy with their mom. We don't like to get into petty things, like, sure, you know, like clean your room and you do this stuff or that stuff.

I mean, you can't have anarchy in your house. You can't have-you can't have total defiance. I'm very much for checks and controls and balances and that sort of thing.

The influence of the fathers' parents on techniques of discipline was evident throughout the discussion. As in other areas, fathers commented on their own childhood experience and their evaluation of their parents' methods. Some saw the wisdom of their parents decisions and others saw the problems. In the last quotation, a father describes his struggle to avoid repeating the patterns of his past.

> I know that that's happened (to me) on a few different occasions where (my) Dad said, "Okay son, so what are we going to do with you?" Well you know, I've done it, can't you at least discipline me, why do I got to be my own judge and executioner? That was a very, very positive-I can see now that that was real wisdom because you know, you start to think in relation with my boys and with my daughter. How do I discipline them?

> But they (father's parents) always seemed to have that, that little bit of control. I won't say alittle bit, probably a lot of control, whereas they wouldn't give you enough rope to hang yourself. They'd let would let you do it enough to find out and if they saw you getting into trouble, then they would kind of bail you out. I think that's a good method. You got to leave people find their own thing.

> There's no spankings in our family. There never has been. Never. We don't believe in that. Especially my wife. My wife got a lot of lickens when she was a child. She doesn't believe in them at all. I don't think we've ever-more than a slight tap on the bum, we've never ever given our daughter a licken and we don't believe in that at all. **And he does go on to say**...I like to put my foot down a little bit earlier than my wife. Because I don't want the situation when they're older to not listen at all and think they can get away with what we got away with or especially me when I was a kid. I want some discipline and I want some respect there for when they're older. I want them to respect their parents, respect their point of view a little bit and hopefully we can direct her in the proper way.

> Even with my youngest, you know he's doing things that your parents didn't approve of, I catch myself acting and you say, "Oops hold on. This isn't what you're feeling, it's what you were taught." So I respond to it in a different way in areas of,.I was going to say discipline but I don't like that word discipline. In areas of.helping to redirect his energy however the energy is coming out. How I act is a lot more satisfying to me, it feels right here in the heart. It's not coming from the head.

Some fathers of older children see 'Making them behave' as quite a struggle. They want to have some control over their adolescent children yet they feel too much discipline might drive their child away and ruin the parent-child relationship. Fathers are aware of problems such as drugs and runaways. .For some fathers the period of parenting adolescent children involves doing their best to deal with children's undesirable behaviour.and hoping for a positive resolution as children mature.

Uh..my oldest, when she gets upset swears and says very awful things. Fortunately they're very proper in public. It's a family thing. She's picked the language obviously someplace but she flies off the handle. My wife and I have tried to accept the fact that it's not our daughter who's saying these words. It's this out of control kid, but it really hurts. It upsets me a lot. We're just hoping that she'll grow into a sensible older teenager who we can eventually reason with.

He was 'toking' up on marijuana now and again. We, in our wisdom decided we didn't know how the hell we were going to stop him from doing this. If he was going to do it, let's be open about it so at least we know where you're at and what you're doing. Well that didn't help a damn bit so by the time we got back to Edmonton he was an addict.as far as we were concerned.

The fathers in the study who were parenting younger children had not encountered these types of problems. The issue for fathers was the same, however, they tried their best to figure out what would 'work', what could they do to ' Make them behave'. They spoke of their attitude towards rules and disciplining for infractions as a something most of them 'played by ear'. They attempted to try various methods including the use of giving alternatives, humour, and compromise.

I know at times, the boys would rather prefer a spanking then to be grounded. Each situation-we'd have to play by ear. We don't like to do anything spontaneous.

There is no set rules, they just come along whatever works you use. Whatever don't work you throw out.

In other situations we try and give them alternatives. If they want to do something and then we would prefer not to, we try and compromise. Each situation has different or tries to have a different set of rules but we try and get their cooperation whenever we can.

It sounds really silly but recognizing the limitations and the lack of reality television, I think I try to emulate Heathcliff Huxtable on the Cosby Show in terms of an approach to problem solving. My problem solving with my son tends to be humour based.

Making Them Fit For The World

The fifth component of "Moulding" is "Making them Fit for the World". This component can best be described as helping children to develop attitudes and character

traits that will enable the children to function successfully outside the family, in the larger society. Self confidence, independence, friendliness, perseverance, leadership, sense of personal 'rightness' are examples of the types of qualities the study fathers hope their children will develop. These are the types of qualities which the fathers perceive will help their children to ultimately become successful adults. 'Making them fit for the world' includes encouraging them to excel, teaching them how to lose, encouraging self assurance, and learning to draw the line Each father had different areas in which they wished their children to excel , different strategies for teaching how to lose, different ways of encouraging self assurance, and different conflicts in learning to draw the line but most fathers felt it was part of their role as a father to help their children in these areas. 'Making them fit for the world' was a major goal of the study fathers.

Excelling

The first element of 'Making them fit for the world' to be reviewed is the importance of encouraging children to excel. 'Encouraging them to excel' represents most of the fathers' desires that their children do their best at all times. The study fathers said it was not important that their children come first but it was important that they put maximum effort into whatever they tried.

> I really encourage them to excel. I certainly don't push them to excel. My attitude is as long as they're doing what I consider and what they consider their best, I don't have a problem. I hate to see someone being very lackadaisical about things.

> How he does in it isn't always important. I don't want him to be the best. I don't expect him to be the best one on the team or in a classroom or anything. What I do expect, I expect the maximum effort you can put into.

> That's the one thing I hope to see in my son. I want to encourage him to do things. I don't want him to be a quitter. I see too many people that just quit when things get tough.

> If they're doing their best, hey, there's not a problem. They know when they're doing their best.

The following two quotations express the importance for these fathers of excelling in their own lives and how they wish to pass the type of drive they admire on

to their own children. One of the fathers spoke of recognizing his child's limitations and the need to temper his emphasis on doing well so his son could enjoy sports activities without too much pressure.

> I think I could have been a professional in a sports area. I was physically capable and mentally capable. I give everything in everything I do. I give a hundred percent to the point I'm liable to break my neck. (Laughter) If that ball's coming off the wall and there's any chance in heck that I can get to it, I go for it. That's the one thing I hope to see in my son.

> My oldest, he's very much like me, nothing but the best. We noticed baseball is a very difficult sport for him. Athleticwise, it wasn't a problem. But it was paramount when he dropped the ball or if he struck out. It was wow, earth shattering! He places so much emphasis on doing well. Now, I suppose that's practically my fault but I try to be conscious not to, only to give him incentive. I don't want to push the kids. I don't want to shove them past what they're capable of doing.

Losing

'Learning how to lose' is the second component to 'Making them fit for the world'. In addition to developing the desire for excellence the study fathers feel it is necessary for children in a competitive society to learn how to lose graciously. Learning how to be a 'good sport' is an important lesson in fitting in in the larger society. The father in the first quotation set up a safe environment, a checker game between father and young son, to help his son learn how to lose at home. This father recognized that his son would face losing soon at school games and he wanted his son to be prepared.

> Of course he doesn't like to lose. I'm not sure it's a good idea to make it too easy for him to win because then you don't know how to lose.

Another father tries to emphasize to his son that winning is important but losing is acceptable if the child has played his best. Being a 'poor sport' which includes pouting and crying over a loss may lead to a child being disliked. Within the larger society a child needs to be equipped with the skill of losing and knowing that their parents are still proud of them.

> I wanted to get that out of him, that pouting and crying when he would lose. I hate to see a poor sport yet I'm glad to see that it means something to him to win. There's no sense playing if you don't want to win- you have no business out there

on a team. I try to tell him, "If you tried your best it's okay to lose. You played a good game and I'm proud of you for that." I mean you can't go around in life pouting and having a tantrum, when you lose, nobody likes a person like that. You are going to lose lots of times in this world and you have to learn how to take it.

Encouraging self confidence

A third component of 'Making them fit for the world' is 'Encouraging self esteem and self assurance'. Many of the fathers in the study discussed the importance of children feeling good about themselves. Feeling 'good or 'proud' was something the fathers felt would protect the child to a certain extent by helping them to be able to stand up for themselves, help them make decisions about what was right, and something which would lead to feelings of happiness

We try and really make her proud of what she's learnt. Getting off the bus by herself-she'll come in the house and she's just beaming. She's so proud that she's did it. We make a big deal out of it. We give her a hug and say how good of a job she did. That's something that we do a lot is really tell her what a good job she's did if she does something like that. That's something that we really feel is important is self-esteem and just to-lots of support and show that she can do things. I guess that's what we want to try and encourage now more.

When my kids go visiting. I tell them, "Remember who you are son. You're a S------. Remember who you are. That's important cause you're not Joe Schmuck down the street or you're not any one of your classmates. You are you and you're important. And you are somebody. Don't mingle in with the crowd because you're not part of the crowd. You're an individual. You're you."

Even if they don't become successful in anything, I want them to be independent and think for themselves and make the decisions and feel good about themselves. That's the main thing first. It doesn't really matter what you do in life as long as you're happy and happiness is the main thing I guess.

I want a kid who's happy with himself, not with somebody who is feels he hasn't lived up to somebody elses expectations or feels he has to live up to somebody elses expectations. He has I think a good sense of rightness. The right thing to do- for himself- not, in a truly selfish sense, because I believe that all kids are fairly self centered to a certain extent but, to do what feels right for him. I think what he's doing feels right for him so why hassle him. Why cause him pain, why try to make him do what you think he should do?

I didn't wait for a nice guy to come along and pat me on the shoulder and say, "Well do this." No, you know, and that's what I want my kids to be. I want them to take the initiative and go out there and be focussed sharply and clearly. To

assess the situation properly and come up with the proper diagnosis and go to it and do it.

Drawing the line

Another aspect of 'Making them fit for the world' was 'Learning to draw the line'. Helping children to understand that in certain situations, decisions are not black and white and that sometimes children will be called to decide how to act when two or more of the values they have been taught are contradictory, was a subject discussed by several of the fathers

> He could go to a tournament and kick their tail but yet he'd go out on the street and he would let them shove them around. I've seen the kids here, he's very able but he has this thing. "Well, Dad, you know, I don't want to fight with them", which I'm proud of, but yet, I don't want him to run. Where do you draw this line? This hazy, hazy line 'cause there's not white and black. It's all grey.

> We bought the bike. I've tried to keep him from letting his friends use it. Because he thinks it's so terrific, he wants all them to see how terrific it is too. And they all do. They all want to ride his bike. Now he's riding all their own little bikes that he wasn't allowed to ride before. That's where I try to get through to him that you have to share but you don't have to lend this. I'll catch him. I've told him not to lend his bike to anybody. (Father tells son to explain that father said no lending)...He's tried that but it's still in him to just, yeah, go ahead, try it, use it, have fun. He likes to see them smile.

Fathers themselves were sometime caught in the middle of conflicting values. In the following quotation a father expressed his desire was to involve his daughters in the preparation for their horse show. The preparation, it seemed to him was part of learning what the showing horses is all about. His wife insists the participation is the essential part. It seemed that the father believed that both preparation and participation are important and the loss of one for the other was something he has decided to live with but he was not altogether happy with that decision.

> I get furious when they don't contribute to the effort to go to a horseshow and yet my wife insists that just as long as they're doing it and participating, that's the main thing that we want. Our duties are to encourage participation and no sense getting uptight about it the day of the horseshow because you'll just ruin everything and that's, I guess, very true.

Socializing

Children's ability to 'Getting along well with others' was a component of 'Making them fit for the world' which was held by all of the fathers. The fathers did not express that they were directly involved in developing the ability to make and keep friends in their children. The fathers tended to act as mediators between their children and their friends, teaching lessons by giving advice and using the situation of the moment to reinforce the socially desirable behavior. Fathers did tell of encouraging social situations such as having other children over to play, visiting friends and neighbours who had children, going to the park, to give their children the opportunity to interact socially with others. The study fathers recognized and valued their children's social accomplishments as is evident in the following quotations.

> My son, in school, he seems to get invited to every birthday party that is going on, where other kids are not. Where there might be only two or three kids invited, he is one of them. I think that makes him some kind of special person.

> She liked to play a lot and got along really, really well with other kids. She always shared well. We were quite happy with that. She is still a good kid. She likes to dress up a lot and now as I say, she's going to kindergarten and that so she's really excited about that. She really plays well with other kids too.

> My son is an exceptionally bright, easy to care for happy child. Probably one of the most easy to care children I've ever seen. He has got a marvelous wit. Very thoughtful. Extremely considerate. A very gentle child and extremely comfortable with himself. He has no problem playing by himself. He has no problem interacting with other children.

One father discussed his feelings about having a child born with a cleft lip. This father recognized the importance of children's relationships with peers and he feared that his son would be hurt by teasing and excluded because of his difference. The father was proud of his son's ability to overcome adversity and make better quality friends than his siblings.

> We went through some difficult times, my middle son was born with a cleft lip. I can remember, when I think back of the heat in the hospital. I can think too when he was born, the excitement, the disappointment. Everybody expects their kids to be perfect. Well, he has just been super. Just super. It kind of plays in your mind and you figure well, the kids are going to tease him or the kids are going to do this or that.—he won't make as many friends but his friends are better friends.

The following are examples of fathers' typical interventions in children's social dilemmas. The first is an example of a father teaching his daughter to put herself in the position of another, the second is an example of a father teaching that friendship has limits. These situations represent the types of indirect influence the fathers exerted in helping their children to 'Get along well with others'.

> She came for lunch, and she went back and couldn't get nobody to play with her. The kids wouldn't play and I said, "Well, maybe it's just that they had their games going and, you couldn't get in." She said, "But that's not very nice". I said, "Well have there been other days when you haven't let other friends in when you have been playing?" She said, "Yeah", and I said, "Now you know how they feel, right?" "Yeh, oh yeh, I didn't think about that". So you have to realize that they're being bad sometimes and get them to realize that.

> It's okay to say no. You're not going to lose them as a friend just because you don't give them everything they want. I think that's a fault he may have now. He's worried sometimes about if you don't do what the other kids want you to do, they won't like you anymore. I'm trying to show him that that's not true and I think it's probably just the other way. If you can be consistent and you are you, people will like you.

Organized activities as 4-H, soccer, karate, swimming, dance, horse shows, Brownies, skiing, daycare, are the mediums used by fathers in their attempts at 'Making them fit for the world'. The active participation in activities of these types help the children to develop in the areas of 'Excelling', Losing', 'Encouraging self assurance', 'Drawing the line', and 'Socializing'. The experience of different activities opens the door of opportunities for children, it encourages the independence, and it builds self confidence which are important for successful functioning in the world. The following quotation summarizes the fathers' intentions in providing opportunities for their children.

> I try to get my son to do as many different things as he possibly can. I don't want him to be limited in terms of his choices because he's never tried different things.

The following quotations are examples of the types of situations the fathers would arrange in preparing their children for the world. The first quotation indicates that the fathers recognize the process of building self confidence is a long one for some children, one that requires continuous effort. The second quotation is an example of the use of daycare as a medium for learning social interaction outside the home. The third quotation is an example of how some of the study fathers deliberately set up situations within the medium of sports to encourage independence.

She needs reassurance. For example, when she learned to ski at a real early age-but every year we go skiing, she needs to rebuild her confidence. She does a lot of things that way. She shows horses now and she's still a little shaken every horseshow that she goes into yet she does really well at everything and should have lots of confidence.

It was basically just part-time (daycare). We thought it was kind of good for her. It did turn out good because we live in a neighbourhood where there's not a whole lot of kids unfortunately. We thought that would give her chance to interact a little bit with more kids and get to know how to play with kids a little more and just make friends and what not. It was good in that way too.

(The father chose not to coach his son's soccer team) To give him a little independence, to push him on to somebody else, more or less to make it easier for him then he could get involved with other kids. Still at that time, last summer, he was still pretty shy and clingy. He has come a lot out of his shell now since he has gone to kindergarten. He would still hang on to you last summer. I figured well, we'd go and maybe with kids of his own age he would be alittle more reluctant to do that because he would feel alittle bit embarrassed about it.

The fathers recognized that partly the success of their attempts at 'Making them fit for the world' was out of their hands. The quotations which follow indicate the concern that despite parents best efforts, children may not 'turn out'; the fathers recognize that things could happen which are beyond their control. Even though most fathers in the study were pleased with their children at the present, for many it was too early to tell what kind of adults the children would become.

It seems like some kids; it doesn't matter how they're raised, something goes wrong somewhere. That's the part that we're searching for now. We sure hope that we can give her the best chance and a happy life and a good chance to be successful and that the independence is the main thing that we want.

You don't know how they are going to turn out. You don't know what they are going to do. They can some major event happening in their life that turns them right around and I don't know what that might be. It could be some tragedy that happens that could change them right now. It could be anything, a fire in the house, an accident, whatever. You can't really prepare for that.

You don't know how they are going to turn out. You can't really prepare for that. You just have to go over it day by day.

All I'm trying to do is what I think is best for my kids. Lord only knows, I'm very pleased with my kids. I'm not saying that they won't go and rob a bank or do something silly like that. I mean, that's beyond my control. But just instill upon them the values and morals of what's mine is mine.

The purpose of the basic social psychological process of "moulding" for the fathers in this study was to guide their children to become someone the father could be proud of when the child became an adult. The study fathers had a desire to become friends with their children as the children grew older. The type of persons the father could admire and befriend were people who exhibited such qualities as honesty, perseverance, independence, intelligence. These shared values were evident in various aspects of the components of moulding. In addition to the shared values, each father had personal intentions to mould their child in a specific direction which was unique to the father. Evidence of the unique desired outcomes of the moulding process follows.

Making Them Into Someone The Father Can Be Proud Of

Part of each fathers' image of their child as a healthy adult appeared to be based on issues from the father's past. These values held by fathers were not expressed in answer to any specific question but rather they emerged from the interview text as those character traits which were most often emphasized by the father. Each father in the study emphasized different character traits which they wished to see in their children These included such things as an ability to make decisions and meet challenges, independence and high self esteem, industriousness, expressiveness and strong sense of self,.cooperation and consideration, being a nice person, ability to accept responsibilities. A brief description of each of the fathers followed by example quotations from the father's interview will enable the reader to make the connection between the important character trait the father wishes to encourage in his children and the father's sense of himself. The study fathers certainly recognized their children as multifaceted individuals with many admirable attributes however, for each father, certain traits clearly emerged from the interview data.

Outcomes

A father who was left to take charge of his family after his father's untimely death valued a sense of quick thinking and ability to make intelligent decisions in his children. He wanted them to be prepared for whatever life had in store for them and he wished to bring them up as individuals who were ready to meet challenges.

But I grew up quick and by that I mean, rather than a few responsibilities, I had everything. I had a house to look after now and a car. I inherited all these problems. All of a sudden I had my sister's welfare and stuff. So, what we tried to do is to prepare the kids- like babysitting.

I want them to take the initiative and go out there and be focussed sharply and clearly. To assess the situation properly and come up with the proper diagnosis and go to it and do it.

A father who was raised in a home where his father was an alcoholic and where he felt he had had very little guidance, support, or encouragement in his early life appears to value high self esteem for his daughter. In addition to high self esteem he hopes to guide her towards good morals and independence. This is his emphasis:

I'm scared of society now. The way the things that are out there nowadays. I find myself lucky that I was able to break away. My wife never was subjected to the same type of partying and stuff that I did and how I broke away from it and managed to straighten myself out. Not that I was, really radical or anything. I guess every parent just hopes that their child is going to turn out good. We think that if there's anything that we can do now, let's do it now while they're young.

We want her to succeed. We want her to try and you know have the right morals and what not and feel good about herself and a really high self esteem. I guess is most important that we think above anything. Because if you have that, hopefully you won't be drawn into peer pressure and you can really think for yourself and make the right decision.

We like to just try and start her off on the right track in life. I guess give her a good chance. It scares myself and my wife of all the different things now with kids that they can get peer pressure and the drugs and the sex and the diseases and what not with kids. It's very, very important for us to try and instill some good into her.

Like I said, try and find the answer to try and give my daughter the best chance in life and I think that it's in self esteem and a good feeling about herself. That's what we're trying to instill more than anything. Even if she doesn't become successful in anything, I want her to be independent and think for her own and make the decisions. To feel good about herself, that's the main thing first. It doesn't really matter what you do in life as long as you're happy and happiness is the main thing I guess. If you don't feel good about yourself or if you're always unsure about yourself, you're never going to be able to get and do the things that you want to do no matter what . So that's, that's one thing that we both try and strive for.

For the father who grew up on the farm with a father who was extremely hardworking, the values of industriousness remained important. He expressed some disappointment that even though his daughters have many of the material possessions and opportunities that he missed, they don't have an appreciation for these things. He

hoped to encourage in his daughters a balance between work and play which he feels was absent in his own life but he was concerned that perhaps giving them all that he missed may not have developed the values he feels are important.

> We worked hard. We never seemed to have any money and I've become very security conscious. We've worked our buns off to make sure that we're comfortable now. I just feel sorry for the girls because they always had what they wanted. I've always had what I needed but I didn't have what I wanted. The girls now have pretty well everything they want. They're not spoiled but they've had a lot of things.
>
> But they don't really realize what a dollar is worth and I don't want them to be the way I was because my dad was always concerned about money and as a result, I'm over-concerned about it. I guess they're different but different in a good way.
>
> I really don't like the fact that they're not tidy and that they don't feel obligated. As a young person, I did chores and did everything because I told to, ordered to, and threatened that if I didn't do whatever. We just want them to learn in school and have a good social life and participate and broaden their own persons and so we don't emphasize duties and these kinds of things which is not good. But today, it's so complicated. We feel that we're going to get on those other things and they'll learn these other responsibilities and commitments and this kind of thing later.

One father who grew up in an unhappy home with parents who were often critical of him. He referred to himself in the interview as a person who had not learned to accept and express his feelings until very recently. It was clear from the interviews he did not want to pass these experiences on to his children. His goal appeared to be to bring up children who felt sure of the validity of their feelings and the acceptability of expressing them. His image of raising a successful adult was a person who had a strong sense of themselves and who lived up to their own expectations.

> My dad was very critical, very critical, so was my mom. My relationship with my dad was such that I had far different interests than he did and yet I always felt, he was disappointed by that.
>
> My family my father and mother's family would best be described as dysfunctional at this point in time. I suspect my mother is an alcoholic, my father passed away eight years ago I was the kid who would tend to hide. I would go into my room and disappear when company came I would pick up a book and read anything but to be around so I was absent. I guess I felt absent as far as my father was concerned or my mother.

About his own son:

> I want a kid who's happy with himself, not with somebody who is feels he hasn't lived up to somebody elses expectations or feels he has to live up to somebody elses expectations. He has I think a good sense of rightness.
>
> I didn't want him to ever feel that his opinions or emotions or feelings weren't real, that he could express them however he liked. I may not always agree with how he expresses them, they're still real.
>
> I see in him what I perceive to be the absent kid. When I talk to him we talk comfortable, I'll say, "Everything's fine with you?" He says, "Yeah". "Do you have any concerns about anything/" "Nope." "Are you happy?" "Yep.". We hug each other I give him a kiss, hugging was something we never did in our house. I hug all my kids, every day if I can, if I catch 'em. I don't know if I'm hugging them or me or both I probably do them both..

Another father repeatedly emphasized consideration and cooperation as important qualities he has developed in himself. This father is pleased to see these qualities exhibited in his daughters approach to others but he continued to struggle to develop them in his son.

> I have never liked to be late or have-try and inconvenience other people. You know, if you're picking them up or being picked up ..Well my daughter again is usually ready and cooperative. And my son, he's just always goofs around and doesn't get things done when he should.
>
> I just won't go back. He had his opportunity. He was warned. The other person was waiting. I don't like to make other people wait. I don't like the inconvenience them unless, I don't like it. It bothers me and therefore, no, I probably wouldn't go back.
>
> He gets bored at the babysitters. She's an older lady and I know she likes him and she spoils him. I mean, she gives him big cinnamon buns and this kind of thing. The kid's crazy if he wants to go anywhere else. But there are no other kids in the neighbourhood. There's a little boy across the street but he's not around until about 4 o'clock because he goes to a baby sitter also. I think she's very sensitive in the fact that if he says he doesn't want to go get a babysitter. He could say that with mom and dad and dad will just-water off the duck's back. But I think it hurts the babysitter's feelings. That disappoints us
>
> She's an angel. She always was well-behaved. If you ask her to do something, she normally does it. My son-he's not quite as cooperative.

Another father felt he missed his chance to become a professional athlete because of his father's deaths and subsequent family circumstances. This father wanted to

make sure his own son had every opportunity pursue his dreams and to have not only the emotional support of his father but also the material possessions the father missed as a child. The person this father would be proud of appears to be someone who can rise to the top and achieve his potential.

> I was very athletic. I was a champion swimmer when I was ten and twelve. I held records for swimming. Downhill ski racing, I've done skiing, I've played soccer-first division soccer in Ontario. I would play junior hockey. I was very very sports oriented. I can't expect him to be all those things. I hope he is. I hope he finds something and really does well. Better than I did. I didn't have the opportunities that I think I'm trying to give him.

> My own father died when I was very young. I was five years old, the same age my son is now. Because my mother tried to raise four children and she was not a working mom at the time that my dad died, we had to do things by ourselves. You had to get yourself to the arenas, find friend's dads to drive you. Those things I think held me back and I think I could have been a professional in a sports area. I was physically capable and mentally capable. I give everything in everything I do. I give a hundred percent to the point I'm liable to break my neck. (Laughter) If that ball's coming off the wall and there's any chance in heck that I can get to it, I go for it. That's the one thing I hope to see in my son.

> He gets most everything he wants because I want him to have them, not necessarily because he wants them. I want him to have them.

> "Dad is buying him a GT snowracer." As a five year old, I wanted one or would have wanted one if they had had it. He's got to want one. His friends have them. He's getting one period.

Some fathers were quiet, reserved types of people. The following father felt he was an easy going individual who emphasized likability as a key aspect of his childrens' personalities. His desire was to continue to guide them into adulthood as 'nice' people.

> My father was a real kind of laid back, nothing bothering kind of guy. He had control and respect without putting the ironfist down kind of thing. You never had to do that, you just, I don't know why, I guess he never tried that or whatever. He was really laid back.and it's kind of like that around here.

> They don't seem to be too pushy, you know too boisterous and they seemed to be well liked. They have lots of friends and I like to see them making lots of friends and being well liked. It's something that you need. You need lots of friends, and I think that comes from being nice people.

Probably my ego speaking here, she's top of the class. When we go for parent-teacher's interview, the teacher is really bubbling over about her and keeps rattling on about how nice she is, and how helpful she is.

I try to teach them more of the values of life I think How to get along with everybody and to be nice people, well liked.

Well, if they carry on like they are at the moment, that'll be fine. They are, at the moment, nice people That's not to say that can change but if they carry on like they are, they'll do fine.

The last father might best be described as a type of 'renaissance' man. He believed himself to be a person with potential to excel in whatever he attempted. This father was adventurous and skilled in a wide variety of activities. His emphasis in his own life and his guidance to his son centered on meeting challenges and not limiting life experiences.

I have to thank my mother. She didn't have any boundaries that she placed on herself. I did high school only two years-I was bored and I wanted to finish it. I don't like people telling I can't do anything. I want to find that out for myself what I can or cannot do.

I try to do as many different things as I can and I try to get my son to do as many different things as he possibly can. I don't want him to be limited in terms of his choices because he's never tried different things.

I don't think there's anything that I can't do if I set my mind to it. Probably with the exception of medicine because I faint at the sight of blood. I want my son to know that as well. I want him to make his own choices. I don't want to tell him that he can only wear certain clothes together. I don't want to tell him that he will never be an artist.

I think my son has to be exposed to as many different things as possible.

SUMMARY

In this study the basic social psychological process of "Moulding" involves a fathers' attempts to shape their childrens' personality and behavior. The fathers recognized themselves as role models for their children and in moulding. Fathers used their own experiences as reference points in interaction and decision making with respect to their children. In the process of moulding children these father's began by building a relationship with their children which involved the key elements of

communication and 'being there' for their children. The fathers concentrated on developing feelings of safety and security in their children. They saw their children as intelligent people and did their best to foster the growth of this intelligence in their children. The fathers were concerned about the behavior and disciplining of their children. The fathers' attempted to understand their childrens' misbehavior and have the children understand the need for and the purpose of discipline. Finally, the fathers attempted to develop in their children qualities which would help their children fit into the world outside their homes. This is done with the recognition that outcomes are not always predictable and the best intentions of parents may not translate into children who 'turn out' the way parents' hope. Fathers use themselves as a reference point in, "Guiding the child to be someone the father can be proud of" just as they do in all other aspects of the moulding process. The context of "Parenting from the Past" surrounds both the process and the outcomes. The influences of the fathers' childhoods are evident in their dreams for their childrens' futures just as the fathers' childhoods influence the five components of the moulding process. All of the fathers were unique individuals with different life experiences and different family structure yet each father was involved in the same process.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

Making A Relationship

The study fathers revealed that the relationship between a father and his child was seen to develop gradually as the father spent time with the child. Most of the study fathers attended the birth of their children, except when emergency caesarians were performed. Later they changed their infants diapers, bottle fed when the mother was not breastfeeding, walked the floor with colicky children, gave baths and performed the bed time rituals. Studies have found that fathers who desired to parent and who felt ready to parent were most active in participating in childcare with their infants (Barnett & Baruch, 1988; Cowan, 1988; Fein, 1976; May, 1982). Some fathers enjoyed the involvement with infants and regularly took a turn with feeding and changing but the majority of fathers left early infant care in the hands of their wives. Research indicates that often a traditional division of childcare evolves within six months of childbirth even for fathers who had planned to be more involved in childcare (Cowan, 1988; Lamb, et al., 1985; LaRossa, 1988). The fathers reported beginning to develop an individual relationship with each child when the child was old enough to play and be responsive to the father. The relationship between a father and his children was not assumed or automatically evoked at the child's birth but rather something the father worked at developing. This finding is consistent with other qualitative research particularly Daniels and Weingarten (1982).

'Being there'

The fathers interviewed spent the majority of the time away from paid employment at home with their families. Weekends and holidays were spent as a family doing activities which were suitable for both children and parents. To an extent, fathers seemed to view being at home with their families as an option they chose. Fathers indicated they could have chosen to be in the pub, or out 'doing their own thing', or working away from home. The study fathers' perceived choosing to 'be there' as a sign of love. The assumption seemed to be that mothers would be there to care for the children whether or not fathers were there. The children could quite adequately be raised by the mothers. Spending time at home with families rather than pursuing

personal interests, desires for a relationships with children, and the working towards those relationships was seen by the fathers as evidence of caring and involvement.

The importance of 'being there' both physically and emotionally for children on a day-to-day basis was repeatedly emphasized. LaRossa (1988) indicated that many fathers have internalized the notion of 'quality time' in the abstract but in reality, many fathers do not find interacting with children very appealing. These fathers described themselves as 'putting in time' with their children. The fathers were described by LaRossa (1988) as technically present but functionally absent. The study fathers did indicate that they recognized the difference between being present and paying attention to their childrens' needs. They also expressed the desire to be more than 'weekend dads' to their children and in these respects they may be exhibiting the difference between themselves and many other fathers. The fathers in this study recognized of the importance of 'being there' however, the extent to which the understanding is the lived experience cannot be known.

Making Them Safe

The fathers in the study felt it was essential that their children were not only physically protected and secure but that the children were also secure in the fathers' love. Fathers were emphatic in asserting that their love for their children was in no way less than a mother's love. It was the expression of that love that was seen as different. Some fathers believed the differences in expression were based on gender differences and others believed differences in expression were related to personality. Some fathers felt that mothers were more emotional and protective of children than fathers and this was because of innate differences between men and women. Regardless of the beliefs about differences between men and women, all the fathers in the study felt they were able to show their love to their children by verbally expressing affection as well as physically hugging and kissing their children. The physical and verbal expression of love, whether expressed towards sons or daughters, was not seen by these fathers as unmasculine. Reports indicate that physical affection between fathers and their children diminishes as the age of the children increase Physical affection continued to be reported by fathers in this study , even fathers with teenaged children. The fathers indicated this behaviour was a significant and deliberate departure from they way they were raised. Fathers also felt they expressed love by 'being there ' for their children, through rough housing, teasing, attending and cheering for their children at sports

events, by providing financial security for their children, and by offering to their children, opportunities which the father did not have as a child. In this respect, love was underlying all of the components of the moulding process.

Making Them Smarter

The fathers in the study had a tendency to pursue most vigorously with their children the activities that the father himself enjoyed as a child or the activities in which the father was interested. As would be expected in this society, many of the fathers were enthusiastically involved in their childrens sports activities. They demonstrated their involvement by watching, coaching, providing transportation, discussing and encouraging children in such events as hockey, soccer, ball, and horse show competitions. Activities which were viewed as influential in moulding the child into a successful adult were also those which fathers were likely to take interest. For example, the study fathers regularly attended the parent-teacher interviews at school, all attended as many school functions as possible, some volunteered on special occasions in the classroom and one father volunteered regularly.

Although fathers had a tendency to become most involved in the activities the fathers' personally enjoyed, the father's expressed the desire to behave fairly towards all children in the family. This was especially true when fathers perceived their interests and personalities to be a more harmonious match with one child over another. The fathers indicated they tried to be careful to try to support the individual child's interest even when the interests were not shared. The extent to which the fathers were successful and to which the children perceived fairness cannot be known.

Making Them Behave

Even though the goal of the fathers' in their discipline attempts was to teach their children right from wrong, or to teach their children how to behave, most of the fathers talked about and used punitive techniques (yelling and spanking) rather than positive reinforcement (rewards for good behaviour) or natural/logical consequences (allowing the natural effects of a behaviour to impact on the child). As with all other components of the moulding process, fathers relied heavily on their own childhood experiences in deciding what behaviour needed to be disciplined and what type of punishment should be administered. The fathers did not mention reading books or taking courses on

effective parenting strategies. The fathers appeared not to recognize any conflict between desiring a child to grow up with high self esteem and the use of slapping, humiliating, and/or yelling as discipline techniques. Behaviourists have indicated that these punitive measures lower self esteem and are the least effective in teaching children appropriate behaviour (Jaffe, 1991).

Most fathers saw themselves as firmer disciplinarians than their wives. Traditionally this has been the father's role as head of the household (Heiss, 1976; Rotundo, 1985). The traditional authoritarian model of fatherhood however,was not entirely accurate for the fathers in the study. The fathers were concerned that their children understand why the father was punishing therefore talking the situation over afterwards was part of the discipline process. Fathers were able to differentiate between minor situations needing attention such as unmade beds or a parent or child's moodiness and serious offenses such as defiance or disrespect. They modified their reactions accordingly. Fathers were particularly swift to punish defiance or disrespect towards the mother. Whether mothers directly or indirectly appealed to the father to intervene, whether fathers perceived that mothers needed help, or whether this was a vestige of chivalry was not known.

Making Them Fit For The World

The types of activities the fathers in the study described participating in with their children were many and varied. Fathers talked about teaching bike fixing, tractor driving, letting their children play hammer and nail while they were doing renovations, roof shingling, care for horses, barn cleaning, getting a gloss coat on a model, washing the vehicles, car repair, gun maintenance, grass cutting. In addition, fathers spent time talking with their children, coaching sports, attending sports activities, driving children to friends homes, attending school functions, bicycling, hiking, swimming, reading stories, playing video games, doing puzzles, watching television. The fathers were most involved on a one-to-one basis in their childrens' recreational activities, hobbies, chores, and spare time activities. Actual physical care was limited since all of the children of the fathers in this study were of school age. Fathers were also involved in the disciplining of their children and their childrens' moral growth and development. These findings concur with the majority of studies investigating paternal involvement in family life (Gardner, 1943; Lamb, et al., 1986; Lupri, 1991; Steinhauer, 1991; Tasch, 1952).

Activities with school aged children were not discussed as ways of relieving their wives of responsibilities or 'helping' them out by taking the children off the wives' hands. Fathers in this study participated in activities with their children for two basic reasons; one, because the activities were ones the fathers enjoyed, and two, because the activities were ones the fathers felt were good for their childrens' growth and development. The fathers did not measure the numbers and types of activities they did with their children in comparison with the types and numbers of activities mothers did with the children. The study fathers measured themselves against other fathers and the fathers' fathers. As well, the strength and closeness of the fathers' relationships with their children were the indicators of how well a fathers felt they were parenting.

Parenting From The Past

It is suggested in the literature that family of origin is only one of the determining factors in fathers' involvement with their children. Past findings indicate fathers try to make up for the perceived deprivation they experienced as children by spending time and attention on their own children (Cowan, 1988; May, 1982; Pleck, 1985). The underlying context of 'Parenting from the Past', identified in this study, indicates that fathers continually refer to both the positive and negative aspects of their upbringing to determine behavior with their own children. The fathers in the study imitated the behaviour of their parents which they admired and tried to change behaviour which they felt was inappropriate. The constant sorting out of the past served as the fathers' reference points and a guides to action and decision making. Rather than the family of origin being an impetus for 'compensatory' parenting for these men , the fathers' pasts provided the entire context for fathers' parenting.

In his fascinating article of the history of childhood, deMause (1974), theorizes that the reliving of the past through the parent-child relationship constitutes an independent source of historical change. Change occurs because of, "...the ability of successive generations of parents to regress to the psychic age of their children and work through the anxieties of that age in a better manner the second time they encounter them than they did in their own childhood." (deMause, 1974, p. 3.). The 'Outcome' section of the research findings fully supports this theory.

The fathers in this study claimed to be making a conscious effort to develop closer, more intimate relationships with their children than the fathers had had with their own

parents. The goal was to evolve the relationship into a mutual adult friendship. The extent to which the fathers will actually achieved this goal cannot be known.

Moulding

The fathers in this study concur with the majority of fathers in other studies who indicate that their children and their family life is important to them. The fathers in the study described being a parent as, 'your whole life revolves around the kids'. One of the fathers described feeling that their children were always 'in the back of your mind'. Another father said, "It is still the last thing we talk about before going to sleep at night are the kids. Something they've done, something they're going to do, or something they've done good or not so good during the day." Lamb, Pleck and Levine (1986) and Backett (1987) suggest, fathers are 'indirectly' involved with their children because it is most often mothers who are responsible for making the arrangements for activities. These researchers report that fathers learn about their children through conversations with their wives. This was not the study fathers' interpretation of family life. The fathers in this study reported being directly involved in attempts to mould their children through activity and encouragement and teaching. The study fathers interpret their interactions with their children as indications of their interest and direct effort at being involved in producing a child who is fit for the world and of whom the father can be proud.

Researchers (Lamb et. al., 1986; LaRossa, 1988) have indicated that often when fathers spend time with their children, the father and the child are not involved in interaction, the father is available if needed but not particularly focussed on the child. Activities such as watching television have been considered examples of 'availability without interaction' since the focus of the family is considered to be on the television. Fathers in the study however, looked forward to such activities as both an opportunity to cuddle as well as an opportunity to mould children through the expression of the fathers' values and attitudes regarding the content of the program. The fathers considered the time spent to be valuable because it is an expression of 'being there' when, if the father wished, he could have been elsewhere. The emic perspective offers quite a different interpretation from the etic which may see the attitude towards 'being there' as an example of male privilege and power in family relationships rather than a shared experience of closeness

Despite the findings which indicate fathers are only minimally involved with their children (Barnett & Baruch, 1987; Coverman & Sheley, 1986; Pleck, 1985; Russell & Radin, 1983), the fathers in this study did consider their contribution to their childrens' upbringing to be significant Many activities performed by fathers around the home occur on an occasional rather than daily basis. Examples of these types of activities are bicycle/vehicle maintenance or building construction/maintenance. The fathers considered these activities to be valuable opportunities to mould children. The lessons taught in these areas provide important lifeskills needed by children to prepare them for adulthood. In the fathers' minds these activities involve not only the acquisition of the mechanical or technical skill but also the values component which includes work ethics, relationship building, and developing the child's independence and self esteem. These types of activities occur on an occasional basis and may involve intense interactions for lengthy periods and then no recurrence of the activity for up to a year or more.

Making Them Into Someone The Father Can Be Proud Of

All of the fathers saw themselves as active influences in shaping their childrens' lives and personalities even though some fathers spent more time with their children than other fathers. For the fathers in the study, it was not the actual number of things the father and child did together or how long the activities took that determined their importance to the father. The nature of the interchange and the quality of the interaction were most important. Fathers valued and promoted activities which strengthened emotional ties between father and child especially communication and physical affection with their children. They valued and promoted interactions where they felt their child learned something which would promote the child's growth into a person of whom the father would be proud.

The role of the study fathers was to help the child become a successful adult and to ultimately mould a child with whom the father could be a friend. Fathers' involvement in the lives of their children is multi-dimensional. It included, for the study fathers, being there both mentally and physically for their children. It included taking the time and energy to build a relationship through talking and activity and becoming emotionally invested in the child's life. Involvement also meant helping to mould the child into a healthy adult through talk and play and through discipline and teaching. Measurement a father's involvement based on this broad understanding of the term

would be quite a complex task but one which must be considered in order to provide a more accurate depiction of the role of the father in the family.

INTEGRATION OF FINDINGS WITH LITERATURE

The research in the area of division of labour in the home indicates that women generally do twice the number of measured tasks and that men work in the home is identified as 'help' rather than the husband's responsibility (Barnett & Baruch, 1987; Coverman & Sheley, 1986; Pleck, 1985; Russell & Radin, 1983). The fathers in the study who were living with their spouses openly acknowledged the difference in the division of labour within their homes. Work such as laundry, cleaning, dishes, etc.which the fathers did around the house was usually identified as 'help' for their wives. However, this is not evident from the fathers' perspective. With respect to children, there was no clear differentiation by the study fathers of mothers' tasks and fathers' tasks. The fathers in the study did not refer to the raising of children as their wives' responsibility. Raising children was considered to be a 'combined effort' between husbands and wives and this continued to be true even for the fathers who were divorced. By 'combined effort' the fathers meant that activities with children were usually done as a family or that fathers and mothers discussed the bringing up of their children and came to some agreement as to how things would be done. Decisions about attending their childrens' extracurricular activities were made on the basis of convenience and availability but in general both parents attempted to attend together. The study fathers felt that they took an active part in making decisions about their childrens' lives. It must be noted that in this study, neither the mothers nor the children were interviewed.

Most of the fathers in the study still held fairly traditional views that men and women are intrinsically different and mothers and fathers are not interchangeable. Fathers and mothers in intact families could perform the same functions in terms of childcare but they usually did not . All of the fathers were primary breadwinners in their families but none of them voiced this as an excuse to be unavailable to their children. They believed that paid employment was a significant contribution to the care of their families. This finding is well documented in other research (Cohen, 1987; Cowan, 1987; Daniels & Weingarten, 1982) Some recognized paid employment limited the time available to be with their children but felt in no way did it prevent them from knowing their children as unique individuals or from being 'good' fathers. In

these cases, the time that the fathers' did have available was considered to be time spent with the family.

Several fathers were involved in traditional types of marital relationships where their wives were not employed outside the home. These fathers still believed that they had an important role to play in their childrens lives even though it was their wives who spent more time with their children. They recognized that the things they did with their children were often different from the things their wives did especially during the weekdays. Some of these fathers indicated that they did more of the fun things with children such as reading, playing, sports while their wives did the more 'mundane' activities such as meal preparation, laundry, and looking after the house. Historically the role of father has had a 'playmate component (Daniels & Weingarten, 1982; Gardner, 1943; Owens, 1982; Tasch, 1956). These fathers also indicated that their time alone with the children was more limited than fathers whose wives were working outside the home. Fathers whose wives are full time homemakers tended to be alone with their children for short activities such as going to wash the car or taking one child to an event while their wife took the other child. Other researchers (Lupri, 1991; La Rossa & LaRossa, 1981) indicate that fathers spend most of their time with children in the company of their wives. The fathers in this study interpreted the time spent with their children as important both to themselves and to their children. They did not discuss the time spent as 'help' or 'relief' for their wives.

Most of the fathers in the study indicated that often the time spent with children involved the entire family. Lamb et. al (1986) indicates that mothers are responsible more than 90% of the time for the planning, scheduling, and supervising of these types of interactions. The fathers in the study referred to these activities as 'combined efforts' between the father and the mother. The fathers did not indicate they recognized an unequal division of responsibility in family outings. Often the family excursions were designed around childrens' extracurricular activities. Fathers indicated that planning sessions for these types of outings did not occur since it was simply a matter of being aware that an event was on and then discussing who was available to attend. The fathers did not refer to any additional responsibilities or alteration in the regular schedule to accommodate many family outing. Perhaps they were unaware of the background orchestration of clothing preparation, meals, etc. The responsibilities with respect to other outings appeared to be gender stereotyped with fathers being responsible for getting vehicles, boats, campers, trailers ready to travel and for driving

the family. It is unclear whether the distinctions made by researchers are important distinctions to the couple. The inequality in the area of responsibility perceived by the researchers was not expressed by the fathers in the study however this is not to say that it was not an issue for their wives.

It is interesting to note here the findings of research on attachment theory. One of the assumptions of attachment theory is that it is not the number of caregiving tasks performed by a parent or the amount of time spent in caregiving but the quality of the interaction which is essential in developing the parent-child relationship (Steinhauer, 1991). This finding would indicate that the relationship these fathers have with their children could be secure and strong even when the actual interaction time was limited, if the actual interaction was interpreted as high quality by the father and child. When one considers the type of activities fathers participate in with their children, many of the fun enjoyable aspects of parenting, it is not surprising that father-child relationships may be perceived as 'involved' by fathers and by their children. Mothers may continue to do the bulk of the work and spend the quantity of time but it would appear that these could be two separate issues.

The separation of actual number of hours spent in childcare from quality of attachment appears to be supported by the findings from the research on children after divorce. In the argument over the importance of joint custody, the point is continually made that one of the most negative aspects of divorce for children, is the loss of one parent, usually the father (Kelly, 1988). It may be difficult to understand the attachment of the child to the father when it appears that the father may have contributed very little to the parenting of that child during the marriage. However, if we accept the assumption that it is quality of interaction, not quantity which influences attachment, and the assumption that the perception of quality exists between the two parties involved in the interaction, then the father-child attachment becomes more understandable. This line of reasoning helps us to understand why children can be strongly attached to both the mother and the father even when the mother may do the bulk of the physical caregiving and nurturing.

Lamb, Pleck and Levine (1986) questioned the prevailing assumption that 'involved' fathers would experience universal benefits from increasing their childcare role. His findings indicated that fathers who became involved with their children in the same way mothers are involved would experience the same levels of irritability and

frustration with children as are currently reported by mothers involved in full time care. One of the study fathers was employed at a job where he worked two weeks on and two weeks off. On his two weeks off he was responsible for childcare. His wife was employed full time. This father felt that all his the time away from paid employment was devoted to his daughter. He expressed guilt for desiring time alone to do the things he enjoyed. He worried that by disclosing these feelings, others might think that he did not love his daughter or others might think he was not a good father. Other fathers spoke of paid employment as 'escape' from the day-to-day hassles of childrearing. The fathers also indicated that sometimes they felt they had to meet their childrens' needs for attention or affection even when it did not suit the fathers' personal agendas.

The fathers in the study expressed, for the most part, the increased enjoyment of being with their children as the children increased in age. The fathers enjoyed being able to do things with children rather than do thing for children. Since the children of the fathers in this study were older the opportunities to do things together which the father enjoyed were greater. Such tasks as laundry, meal preparation, making beds,were seen as things that had to be done and fathers did 'help out' without much enthusiasm for the task. When many of the fathers talked about 'helping out 'with the children when the children were young, similar sentiments about those tasks were expressed. The fathers had changed diapers, fed, and bathed their babies on occasion but not because doing these tasks were the fathers expressions of love and caring but because they were things that had to be done to 'help out'. Research indicates that fathers treasure their children but do not find much pleasure in looking after them (LaRossa, 1988; Thompson & Walker, 1989). Since much of the research reviewed for the Thompson & Walker survey paper involved fathers with very young children, the findings are not surprising. The results of this study indicate that it is not the 'looking after' part of raising children that the fathers found pleasurable.

It has suggested that there has been a shift in the ideology of parenting to a belief that the roles of mothers and fathers are interchangeable (LaRossa, 1988). The reactions of the study fathers to the belief in androgynous parenting roles was mixed. Some fathers felt that there was no reason to believe that women were naturally better equipped to parent than men. These fathers believed they were as competent in caregiving as women but the way the fathers chose to accomplish tasks was different from their spouses. Other fathers believed that women have a 'maternal instinct' which

enables them to develop a 'special bond' with their children. This special bond is believed to be a result of the time the mother carried the child in her womb. The special feelings between mothers and their children are assumed to arise 'naturally' at the child's birth. Mothers were seen as more emotional, more protective of their children by fathers with either attitude. For example, it was expected and accepted that mothers would cry over such events as the child's first day at school. Mothers were described as less willing to let their children participate in activities where the child might experience physical distress. Mothers were described as less willing to push their children towards independence. Whether or not fathers believed in 'maternal instinct', the fathers in this study definitely believed that men and women were not alike in thinking or in behaviour.

In most instances there was no indication from the study fathers that they were in any way seeking to achieve equality with their wives in childcare participation. They did not appear to think in terms of fairness of how the work of childrearing was established in their homes or dividing activities equally. If fathers thought about those things they did not express them during the interviews. When the fathers were asked about the types of arguments they had with their wives with respect to parenting, fathers did not report mothers feeling angry over the amount of time each parent spent with the children or with task allocation. Researchers report that fathers and mothers collaborate to maintain the illusion that the father is involved even when he spends very little time with his children (Backett, 1987). It is also reported in the literature that wives may be satisfied even when they do more than their share of the family work if husbands appreciate their wives efforts and if the husbands are 'willing' to help out (Backett, 1987; Pleck, 1985). Benin and Agnostenelli (1989) also reported that husbands were more likely to be satisfied with an inequitable relationship which was of benefit to them. All of these findings may be applicable to the fathers in this study. The extent to which equality was an issue for the wives in these families cannot be known.

The ideology of parenting is still, for many men and women, based on a traditional beliefs of gender differences. How can both fathers and mothers contributions be recognized and seen as valuable? The difficulties are similar to those of dealing with trying to establish 'Equal pay for work of equal value". In comparing fathers to mothers, the saying might be worded, 'Equal credit for parent-child interactions of equal value'. The fathers in this study indicated that they continue to behave differently

towards their children than did their wives. Fathers tend to participate in the fun, recreational aspects of their childrens' lives while mothers continue to perform the 'mundane tasks'. It is through many of the fun activities, however, that fathers believe that moulding occurs.

This division of labour is seen by many feminists to be quite unfair to mothers (Aronson, 1991; Drakich, 1989; de Koninck, 1991) . From a feminist perspective, fathers make their contributions to parenting from positions of privilege and power. Fathers, for the most part, decided which activities they would be available for and when they would participate. The fathers indicated that their 'being there' for their families was something they did for their families, not something which was the families' right. The fathers in the study seemed to be unconcerned about an unequal division of labour in childcare and domestic work. The equalitarian ideal touted as the new ideology seemed to be a long way off for the majority of the families of the fathers interviewed.

The theory of equity rather than equality in division of family work would seem to be operating for the majority of fathers interviewed. The emic perspective is that these fathers felt they were making an important and substantial contribution to the parenting of their children regardless of whether or not the contributions were similar or dissimilar to their wives' contributions. The fathers in this study were similar to fathers in other studies (Cowan, 1988; Daniels & Weingarten, 1982) who consider their earnings to be a contribution to childcare because it is these earnings which provide for their children. We cannot justify disregarding or discounting fathers' contributions in other aspects of childrearing, because women are doing the 'work' and men the 'play'. Studies (Backett, 1987; Pleck, 1985; Thompson & Walker, 1989) indicate that some women are happy with this arrangement. In addition, the pre-eminence of mothers in the area of childcare and fathers as 'helpers' is seem by most of the study fathers as 'natural' and 'normal'.

It would appear that despite the lip service paid to declarations of the belief in equality in the division of labour in the family, fathers and mothers are not sharing the raising of their children by doing identical tasks on different days or by acting towards their children in the same ways. Consider a father who takes his adolescent child on a weekend backpacking trip into the mountains once a year where time is spent time sharing life experiences. The forging of emotional ties and understanding between the

father and the child may impact on both of them for the rest of their lives. The mother of this child may have spent half an hour after school, each day of the child's school career, discussing the days events. This is also an incredibly valuable contribution to the child's emotional life. How can these types of interactions be compared and evaluated when they are so qualitatively different? To ignore either one would offer a distorted picture of the contribution of the parent. To value one over the other, to record one and not the other, is imposing a research bias in investigating and reporting parenting contributions. These are issues which need to be addressed by those researching in the area of fathers' and mothers' contributions to parenting and childcare.

In addition, the importance of the emic perspective in family research should not be underestimated. The following example illustrates the importance of the meaning attributed to the behaviour the understanding of that behaviour. Some fathers consider the indepth discussion between a father and his child of the aspects of the child's play in a soccer game to be a high level involvement on the father's part. The study findings indicate that from the father's perspective, many things may be going on between the father and his child during the discussion. Father is 'being there' for the child, father is showing the child love and support, father is listening, advising, encouraging, teaching, empathizing, as well as learning more about his child and how to best do his job of moulding the child in the direction the father feels is most appropriate. This discussion may only last for the car ride home, perhaps ten minutes, but it may be considered by both the father and the child to be much more than a ride home from the game. The silence between a father and a child after the loss of an important competition may be interpreted by researchers as a father's 'availability without interaction' or by the father as direct involvement and support in a shared disappointment. The richness of the experience is lost if it is to be measured solely on the basis number of minutes spent in interaction.

Importance of findings

This study provides insights into some fathers' perceptions of the role of the father in the family. The findings indicate that despite inequality in the division of labour fathers feel deeply attached to their children. The fathers did not compare themselves to mothers in terms of parenting. The fathers evaluated their adequacy as a fathers based upon their perception of the communication and closeness of the relationship with their

child. The behaviour of the fathers towards their children was full of intentions and meaning for the father. In general, fathers in this study described their role in instrumental terms, they were preparing their children as best they could to be healthy, functioning adults in the world outside the home. There was evidence, however, that fathers were also involved in the 'expressive' dimension since they valued and sought emotional closeness with their children.

The fathers in this study did not appear to be concerned with equality within the parenting relationship, at least not in terms of role sharing with mothers. The belief the men and women are intrinsically different is still well entrenched. Fathers indicated that they wanted the same things for their daughters as for their sons and in terms of education that appeared to be the case. However, gender consciousness is alive and well and these fathers continued to socialize girls differently from boys.

The fathers in this study believed they were 'involved' fathers, not based on the amount of time spent with their children or the specific activities in which they participated, but because they were interested in their children. The fathers were willing to put effort into building a relationship and they made themselves available to their children both emotionally and physically. The father's past had a tremendously pervasive influence on current parenting, not simply in terms of 'compensatory' behaviour but as the context for the entire parenting experience.

Future research

Future research should be directed towards the study of the affective domain of parenting for both fathers and mothers. The thoughts and feelings and underlying meaning of parenting for men and women are largely unknown. The richness of the meaning of any activity is lost if only the observable behaviour is measured. The study fathers offered valuable insights into the meaning for them of such things as attending the parent-teacher interviews at their childrens' schools. The meaning of activities is a necessary part of our understanding of family interaction. The intentions of the actions of the parent, the parents' perceptions of themselves as socializing agent in terms of ethics, morality, religion, discipline, and character development should be remembered when designing research which measures parenting activities in childrearing. Developing quantitative tools which will effectively measure these areas for parenting will be a challenge for researchers.

Several problems arise for researchers attempting to measure the types of interactions between fathers and children which fathers' perceive as significant. Many activities performed by fathers around the home occur on an occasional rather than daily basis. These types of activities may involve intense interactions for lengthy periods and then no recurrence of the activity for up to a year or more. It becomes difficult to compare these activities with the repetitive, unwitnessed, daily tasks performed by many mothers.

Studies which compare mothers and fathers are valuable in terms of researching role change and equalitarian behaviour. Findings indicate that researchers interested in recording changes in fathers' behaviour should compare fathers to their own fathers or fathers to other fathers when investigating change from a father's perspective. The assumption that fathers are attempting to become more like mothers, or that men and women are seeking equality in parenting should be viewed with caution.

Qualitative research investigating the child's perception of the father's or mother's role enactment and the child's perceptions of parental intentions and involvement would add an interesting dimension to our understanding of family life. The mother's perceptions of the father's contributions and the father's perceptions of the mother's contributions in the same family would indicate the similarities and differences of the two perceptions. The investigation begun by Backett (1987) of the negotiation between mothers and fathers of 'who does what' with children and how the couple perceives the division of family work deserves more attention from researchers.

The father's past needs to be recognized as an important influence in all aspects of parenting behaviour. Fathers in this study openly shared examples of repeating the positive aspects of the past, and examples of improving upon negative aspects of the past but they were unaware or unwilling to disclose, negative paternal behaviours from the past which they were repeating even when directly asked by the researcher. Research in the area of transgenerational transmission of violence for example, indicates that negative patterns are often repeated. To what extent are fathers successfully resolving the negative past and how is this accomplished?

In some instances the study fathers revealed information which supported the concept that fathers are 'indirectly' involved in the lives of their children through the

mother. Some fathers described incidents of intimacy with their children which were actually interactions between their wives and their children. When a child had made a private disclosure to the mother, the mother often told the father of the conversation. In these cases the fathers described the interchange between the mothers and the children including the childrens' explicit directions to the mothers not to tell the fathers. These fathers then interpreted the willingness of the children to disclose to the mothers as evidence of the closeness of their own relationships with the children. Fathers would say such things as, "We were glad she felt she could come to us." "We have a really close relationship." These fathers' seemed unaware that they had transferred the mother-child relationship to themselves. They did not seem to realize that in fact the child had not come to 'them' but to the mother only. The fathers discounted or disregarded the direct instructions of the child to exclude the father from the interchange. In addition to this, many fathers tended to use the word "we" as in "we think" or "we feel", rather than "I", when referring to explanations of stories about their children. A study of the use of the word "we" by fathers might enlighten us as to fathers' thinking about direct and indirect involvement. The use of "we" may reflect fathers' perceptions of themselves as 'helper to mother' or as some other dimension of spousal support. Research which is designed to analyze the total system, mother's perceptions, father's perceptions and child's perceptions, may begin to reveal how involvement is conceptualized and how it is enacted. This was fascinating and seems worthy of future investigation.

Limitations of the study

One of the concerns faced by many researchers is the self selection of the sample group. Are those who volunteer to be interviewed different from those who do not and if they are different, how are they different? The fathers in this study undoubtedly felt their role as a father was an important one. While each of the fathers differed in the amount of time they spent with their children and the activities they did together, each felt they were an involved father. It is likely that those fathers who felt uncomfortable about their role or their relationship with their children would not volunteer to be interviewed. In addition, fathers who were not interested in their children or who felt that their children were solely their wife's responsibility were not interviewed.

An attempt was made to include fathers with differing family sizes, differing family structures, both symmetrical and complementary spousal role relationships, as well as

fathers who are divorced, however,some types of fathers were not included. Fathers from diverse ethnic backgrounds were not interviewed and no 'househusband' fathers were available. These omissions represent interesting variations which may have influenced the data. It must be remembered that grounded theory based on a BSPP is not generalized to other populations but generalized to basic social processes that underlie the issues. Theoretical statements about the process may be made if the the process has "fit", if it "works" and if it has "relevance" (Glaser, 1978).

The issue of social desirability is another concern for researchers. The argument might be made that the fathers in the study may have wanted to show themselves in the best possible light. They may have purposely omitted details which would reflect unfavorably upon their parenting or they may not have admitted to feelings about their children or their parenting which they perceived to be socially undesirable. The rapport established between the researcher and the father is the best defense against this problem. The fathers in this study were quite open in revealing both positive and negative aspects of their relationships with their wives, their children, and their parents. Many of the fathers openly expressed deep emotional positive and negative feelings during the interviews. They felt free enough to laugh at themselves, to cry when moved, and to express opinions which were contrary to the researcher's personal viewpoint. There can be no guarantee of full and honest disclosure but in the fathers in this study appeared to be excellent respondents in this regard.

The reporting of the data and the discussion of the findings were impacted upon by the conflict between the researcher's constant desire to be respectful of the contribution of the fathers and a sense of irritation with the fathers' unawareness of the power and privilege from which they parented. At times this was difficult to put aside, particularly in the areas of 'being there', disciplining, and the fathers' unawareness of the inequalities in parenting from a female perspective. The reader should be aware these were the researcher's biases.

The study fathers did make sexist comments about daughters and wives which were deliberately unchallenged by the interviewer since the object of the interviews was the fathers' perceptions not their enlightenment. An interviewer without a feminist bias may have felt more comfortable persuing this issue in depth, or the interviewer may have missed the comments altogether.

It is important to consider the possible differences to disclosure which might have occurred had the researcher been male. It could be argued that the fathers tempered their stories, their language, and their descriptions of both their children and their wives in the presence of a female interviewer so as not to be offensive. The fathers might have chosen different stories or presented themselves in a different light with an interviewer of the same sex as themselves. On the other hand, fathers may not have been as willing to express as much emotion or reveal their worries for fear of appearing weak or indecisive in the presence of a male interviewer.

The fathers were encouraged explain thoughts and feelings in greater detail with a female researcher since there was not the assumption that the interviewer had thought or felt the same way as a father. Field (1990) discussed the potential problems associated with nurses doing field work in their own units. She points out the danger of those in like circumstances assuming they have experienced similar events as the informant and therefore drawing upon their own experience rather than the experience of the informant. Field (Field & Morse, 1990) also identifies the danger that the researcher will assume she understands the language of the informant and therefore will not probe for meaning. Finally, Field (Field & Morse, 1990) is concerned that less credit may be given to the "teach me" role of the researcher when the researcher and the informant have the same background. Since all of the fathers expressed the opinion that men were quite different from women, these potential dangers were minimized. The fathers in the study appeared to be quite comfortable with the role of "teacher".

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Current research in the area of fathers' participation in family life compares the behaviour of mothers and fathers. Based on this type of a comparison the findings in the literature review indicated that in all types of time assessment measures, the ratio of womens' work in the family to mens' work was 2:1. At the same time, study results indicated that fathers' felt they played an important role in their childrens' lives and asserted that their family life was of primary importance despite what appeared to be low levels of involvement between fathers and children. The research in the area of predicting the antecedents of fathers participation with their children produced findings which were difficult to explain based on the quantitative data. Researchers were agreed that the interactions in family life were complex and qualitative research which was designed to accommodate the complexity of interaction could further the understanding

of the meaning underlying the interaction between fathers and their children. Research was focussed on fathers with infants and toddlers and little was known about the interactions between fathers and their school aged children. Research of the role of the father with school aged children from the fathers' perspective was necessary to shed some light on the incongruencies between the emic and the etic perspectives.

The purpose of this study was to describe the fathers' perspectives of the role of father with school aged children. The data analysis revealed the basic social psychological process of "Moulding". The BSPP is set in the context of "Parenting from the Past". The ideal goal of the moulding process is 'Making Them Into Someone The Father Can Be Proud Of'. The direct involvement of the fathers in the process of moulding began for most when the child was able to respond in ways the fathers understood and when the child was old enough for the father to play with the child. Very young infants were cared for primarily by mothers.

The 'Parenting from The Past' provided the context for the entire parenting process for the study fathers. Fathers in the study reflected upon the parenting and life experiences of their youth in decision making and behaviour towards their children. As incidents arose in the lives of children fathers referred to similar instances from their own lives. The fathers evaluated the behaviour and attitudes of their own parents and then determined whether or not they wished to repeat their parents behaviour or improve upon what their parents had done. The fathers then acted towards their children based upon their reflecting and evaluating of the past. After using the past to guide their behaviour, the fathers learned what worked best with their own children. This referencing to the past was a continual process which influenced the fathers' attempts to mould their children.

'Moulding Children To The Image' was the basic social psychological process emerging from the data. The process involves five components. The first component is 'Making A Relationship' which includes two aspects, the importance of open communication between father and child, and the father's being there' both physically and mentally for the child. The second component of 'Moulding' is 'Making Them Safe'. This also includes two aspects, the father's responsibility to ensure the child feels secure, and the importance of telling the child the facts of life. The third component of 'Moulding is 'Making Them Smarter'. The fathers in the study recognized the importance of quality education for their children and they saw their

children as very bright people. Fathers felt it was their responsibility to encourage their child's education, to provide extra resources and opportunities whenever possible and to show support by attending school functions and teacher interviews. The fourth component of 'Moulding' is 'Making Them Behave'. This was one of the component discussed at length by fathers. 'Making Them Behave' involved the subject of discipline, the behaviour which required discipline, the purpose of discipline, the techniques of discipline, the problems in disciplining, and the fathers' attitudes towards successful discipline. The fifth component of 'Moulding' was 'Making Them Fit For The World'. This includes helping children to develop attitudes and character traits which the fathers feel will enable their children to become successful adults. Teaching how to excel, how to lose, where to draw the line, and encouraging self esteem and self assurance are all aspects of 'Making Them Fit For The World".

The purpose of the basic social psychological process of "Moulding" for the fathers in this study was 'Making Them Into Someone The Father Can Be Proud Of' when the child became an adult. The fathers expressed a desire to become friends with their children as the children grew older. Children who exhibited such qualities as honesty, perseverance, independence, intelligence were the type of persons the father could admire and befriend. These values were shared by the study fathers and were encouraged by the fathers in various aspects of the components of moulding. While the fathers shared similar values, each father had personal intentions to mould their child in a specific direction which was unique to the father. Even when fathers recognized their children as multifaceted individuals, part of each fathers' image of their child as a healthy adult appeared to be based on issues from the father's past.

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Appendix A

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Project: Father's Perceptions of the Role of Father

Researcher: Katherine Kilgour, Masters Degree Candidate
Dept. of Family Studies, University of Alberta
Edmonton, Alberta

Supervisor Dr. Brenda Munro
Professor, University of Alberta

The purpose of this study is to learn more about how men view the role of father. Two or three interviews will be arranged at your convenience, each interview will last approximately one hour. Your information will help us to understand more about fathers' roles in the family.

The interviews will be audiotaped. Your participation is completely voluntary. Although we would like you to answer as many questions as completely and fully as possible, you are free at any time to refuse to answer questions, to end the interview, to withdraw from the study, or to ask the interviewer questions. The content of the tapes will be used solely for research purposes and all identifying information will be removed. Any quotations in the final report will be anonymous and after the study is complete, the tapes will be erased. If you have any questions or concerns, please call Kathi Kilgour (Leduc, Alberta, 986-4756) or Dr. Munro (University of Alberta, 492-5771).

I, _____ voluntarily consent to participate in audiotaped interviews with Katherine Kilgour, masters candidate in Family Studies at the University of Alberta. I understand that in reporting research results, my responses will not be identified by name or any other identifying characteristics and that after the study the audiotapes will be erased.

_____ _____
Date Signature of Participant

_____
Signature of Researcher
3908 39 St.
Leduc, Alberta
T9E 4W5